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FROM THE CONTENTS

Germany on Eve of Elections - Adenauer or Olenhauer?

DUKA JULIUS

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND NUCLEAR TESTS

dr. MILOŠ RADOJKOVIĆ

FIRST STEPS ARE USEFUL AND NECESSARY
JOHN STRACHEY

A FATAL MISUSE OF SCIENCE

dr. SINIŠA STANKOVIĆ

LONG TERM INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT
MARIJAN CVETKOVIĆ

Adult Education in Yugoslavia

MILUN IVANOVIĆ

President Tito's Speech at the Congress of Workers' Councils

For the first time in the history of the idea of Socialism and practice of workers self-management, as the essential kernel of the Socialist Democracy, direct producers — representatives of the workers councils of Yugoslavia held their congress. It was a magnificent manifestation of the vital strength of workers self-management and a great working consultation on the most important objectives for the advancement of economy and building of Socialism in Yugoslavia. The basic characteristic of the Congress was the creative discussion on the wide range of problems which touch various spheres of the activity of workers councils, as great achievements of our working class and an essential characteristic of the Yugoslav way toward Socialism.

The Congress opened with the greetings speech delivered by President Tito and with the report of the president of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions Đuro Salaj „On the past experience and further development of the workers self-management in Yugoslavia“. The second and third day of the Congress work evolved in the commissions which were set up according to the following groups of problems: Economic Frames of the Management of Economy by Workers, The Attitude of Workers Councils to Other Organizations, Economic Business of Workers Councils, Work Relations in Economy, Organization and Method of Work in Workers Councils, Training of Producers for the Management of Enterprises.

At the close of its work the Congress passed the Resolution on the Workers Councils of Yugoslavia and Resolution on the Halting of Nuclear Test Explosions, and sent a telegram to the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and Comrade Tito.

The Congress was greeted by numerous delegates of workers organizations from abroad.

We publish the following part from President Titos' speech:

Comrades,

I AM very happy to be able here today to greet participants of the First Congress of Workers' Councils and to wish you much success in your work, both in the discussions and passing of decisions beneficial to the further development of production, to the producers themselves and to our entire socialist community.

It is just seven years since the Law was adopted, giving the factories and enterprises to the producers, the workers of our country, for management. It was one of the most important, one of the historic acts in the development of our socialist order, an act dictated by public needs at a given stage, that is to say, the need of democratization in the economy, the establishment of new, socialist relations in the production, based on a wide participation of

the further development of production and in distribution but also in the further development of production and in distribution. The objective of this act was to enable the workers to develop to the maximum their creative abilities and initiative which were increasingly hampered by centralized management.

At that time there was still incredulity that our young working class which was pouring from the village into cities and factories, together with the intensive industrialization would be capable of assuming such a complicated role as manager of factories and enterprises. We, however, had no doubts about our working class when we enacted that Law. Because, already at that time, we were convinced from practice in its creative abilities. Yes, we knew that most of our working class was young, as young as the achievement

of our revolution — the new Yugoslavia. „The old underdeveloped Yugoslavia left us only a small number of skilled and able cadres, and, in addition, the War of Liberation and the People's Revolution, exacted particularly heavy casualties among the ablest cadres of our small working class. But we saw that our young workers developed amazing enthusiasm and ability in the mastering of techniques of production of various complicated machinery, and particularly in the production of high quality products and technical facilities, including various equipment for new factories and electric power stations. The problem of rearing and educating of new capable personnel, increasingly demanded by our rapid industrialization, could be solved precisely by giving the factories and enterprises for management to the working collectives, which, as it turned out, achieved in this respect brilliant results.

Could we then dare, waver and doubt that our workers, who in the course of production developed such creative abilities, would not be ready to manage production? No! We believed that they would overcome this, although we were conscious of various difficulties and obstacles in the way of development of social management of which you, who are today here, are best aware.

You will dwell here on this occasion on these various weaknesses because it is necessary to point them out in order to overcome them as soon as possible, particularly those of a subjective character. There are difficulties and weaknesses of an objective character and there are some subjective ones which can be easier eliminated or avoided, because that depends on you. On objective difficulties and obstacles in the way of a rapid and regular development of our workers' self-government we, who are responsible for the entire development of socialist development in our country, must speak up. Because we cannot and dare not deny our responsibility for the slow rate of elimination of certain obsolete regulations and instruments which were an obstacle to greater and more rapid momentum of production and at the same time to a more rapid increase of the living standard of our workers. In as much as there were some difficulties of an objective character and of a material nature, we were not responsible for them, because it was beyond our power to remove them. But it happens that the difficulties of an objective character become subjective and then we who are in the leadership must do everything to remove such weaknesses, because that depends on ourselves — leaders. This is the case, for example, with the system of wages and salaries, the solution of which has been dragging on for a long time, and to which the productivity of labour depends to a large extent.

Permit me, comrades, while speaking of negative things which occurred in some working collectives, to mention the most pronounced ones which, if not removed, could have very unfavourable consequences for the development of our monolithic socialist community. That is, in the first place, local particularism, absence of consideration for the interests of the entire community. Such local particularism occurs sometimes in various forms and is incompatible with proper notions of socialist relations in our community. It must not be forgotten that our socialist society is a huge collective in which the interests of individuals must be compatible with the interests of the entire community. It is very detrimental for the community if between the enterprise and the factory true socialist relations do not prevail, but the principle of the stronger, Disloyal competition and establishment of several enterprises of the same kind only for the sake of competing with the already existing enterprises, are very harmful, because superfluous investments are made which could be used much more advantageously for other purposes. In the same way the fact that individual enterprises try to avoid cooperation is likewise harmful, because cooperation facilitates a cheaper production of a product, and so on. You must do away with such and similar weaknesses because that will be of advantage to the workers themselves and to our entire community.

But, comrades, while speaking of our difficulties and shortcomings in workers' self-government, we must compare these with the immense positive results achieved during this short period of seven years. This is a subject of which we must speak here, at this Congress, to be able to see in relief that our workers have brilliantly stood the test in this great work of socialist development. This was a period of a gigantic school where one third of the employed workers participated in the management, or over 600,000 workers and office employees. This was the most difficult period for our country, because we had to struggle against almost insur-

mountable difficulties, particularly of an economic character. — during this period, too, our working class bore the principal burden on its shoulders. Creating better economic conditions, it had to renounce many things at the expense of its living standard and in favour of our industrialization, in favour of a transformation of our country. If we today cast a glance over our country, we shall see numerous factories and enterprises with modern equipment which are turning the once backward country into an industrially developed Yugoslavia. Just during this most difficult period the creative power of our working people came to the fullest expression. Believing in their own ability, our workers during this period developed an amazing all-sided initiative and enabled us to overcome economic difficulties in our development which seemed insurmountable. We can boldly say that the role of our working class in workers' self-government has contributed most for us to come out from this most difficult position.

When the apologists of dogmatism of a doubtful origin now dispute the value of our system of workers' self-government, calling it anarchy, etc., we have not the least necessity, from a Marxist viewpoint, to justify the correctness and the efficiency of our system of workers' self-government theoretically because it has proved its full value in practice. The results speak for themselves. At the same time it has proved its vital force in actual work and the correctness of the Marxist theory in respect to social ownership of means of production by the fact that the means of production are managed by the producers themselves, whereby the true democratic and socialist relations in the production are realized.

Of course we have no intention to force upon anyone our system, as we are often reproached, but we are bound in duty to defend it against those who are dead and blind to facts, who do not want to see the reality in our country. I think that our practice is the best proof of the correctness of our system by its positive results. These results are seen not only by the direct participants in the production, our workers who do the managing, but they are equally seen and felt by the whole of our people in the same way as they are known for beyond our confines.

Neither do we intend to compete as to whose system is better and more democratic, because the producers themselves can be the best judges in this respect together with the broad masses of workers in every socialist country. Our workers have come to the conviction that their management of factories and enterprises is a great achievement showing them the best respectives for the realization of a happier life and prosperity. When our working class is satisfied with such a system of management, as I am deeply convinced that it is, and that it is always prepared to stake its life in defense of this great achievement, (applause), then it is difficult to understand why some people outside our country bother whether it is good or not — this system of workers' self-government (laughter and applause) and why they dispute its socialist character. I must remark that some critics beyond our confines very often pass their judgement as to whether a thing is socialist or not, although many have no, or at least approximate qualifications, for such a thing (applause and exclamations Tito, Tito, Tito). I would not like to speak about or enumerate what absurdities are written and spoken about our workers' self-government or to dispute this, because the best answer to all this will be given by this Congress and our reality. But I would take this opportunity to recommend to those who do not believe in the results achieved by workers' management of enterprises to come and see for themselves. We shall very gladly explain and try to explain to them everything should some sceptics have a will for this.

Speaking of foreign criticism of our internal development, we must state, on the strength of the experience so far gained, that it cannot be said that such criticism is well-intentioned or objective but most often captious. Because it often uses our own criticism of certain shortcomings and then generalises it, and does not want to see the causes of possible difficulties and weaknesses, does not want to admit that just the greatest difficulties came from abroad, and it does not want to speak and write about our successes achieved despite certain weaknesses. If these critics were to admit our positive results, which leave in the shadow certain weaknesses occurring in the past period of seven years, it would be then more difficult for them to declare that our road to socialism represents revisionism. I think it is time to stop this, it is time for everyone to look after himself, in the first place — for everyone to develop socialism the best way he knows and as the conditions allow him. The others have difficulties and weaknesses, we know they

have many of them, but this is not a source of rejoicing for us; on the contrary, it is our wish for them to solve them as quickly as possible. There should be mutual support and not a destructive criticism, and I am convinced that in such a case it would be easy to maintain not only normal, but also good friendly relations between socialist countries. Otherwise, the past practice in this respect in some countries which are developing socialism is incompatible with our desire for good relations which are expressed by many leaders of such countries. We cannot speak about sincere and good relation between us and some East European countries, if one only uses words for the sake of appearances, in speaking of the necessity of maintaining good relations with Yugoslavia, while, on the other hand, inside instructions are given to party members and broad masses that Yugoslavia is seething with revisionism, that this country is not a socialist country, that it collaborates with the imperialists to the detriment of socialist countries, etc., etc.

This new method of „comradely“ criticism, as it is called today, has very uncomradely tendencies, because usually they start by pointing out to something positive and then comes that well known „but“, after which some of our difficulties and mistakes are enumerated — often in a distorted form, or new ones are invented — to end the article in a negation of everything constructive, and to show Yugoslavia in the light of some kind of a mixture of anarchism and capitalism. Is this comradely criticism? Is this the way to establish confidence and friendship? Of course, it is not. This must

CONGRESS IN FIGURES

The Congress of the Yugoslav Worker's Councils, which was in session in Belgrade on June 25, 26 and 27, exactly seven years after the historical decision of the Federal People's Assembly to turn economic enterprises to their workers for management, was attended by 1,745 delegates of Worker's councils from all parts of the country.

The Congress was also attended by representatives of workers' organizations from Ceylon, China, Finland, Czechoslovakia, France, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Eastern Germany, Israel, Hungary, Poland, Morocco, Bulgaria, Rumania, USSR, Vietnam, Scotland, England, and of the Asian Socialist Conference and the International Labour Office.

Altogether there were 423 speakers in the debates during the sessions of the Congress.

The Congress received 1,352 written proposals from workers' councils, district conferences for the election of delegates, and trade union organizations concerning the solving of different problems in workers' self-government.

During its sessions, the Congress received 1,475 telegrams of congratulations from all parts of the country, as well as from the Association of Austrian Trade Unions, trade unions of Switzerland and Burma, and the Electric Workers' Trade Union of Mexico.

* *

According to information released by the Statistical Institute, there were, on December 31, 1956, 6,093 workers' councils in enterprises employing more than 30 workers.

Of the 1,435,000 men and women employed in these enterprises, 124,561 workers and office employees were members of the workers' councils.

There were in the workers' councils 92,322 workers — 17,813 highly skilled, 47,326 skilled, 17,068 semiskilled, and 10,115 unskilled men and women, and 32,239 office employees — 4,361 high grade, 14,723 medium grade, 11,427 lower grade and 1,728 auxiliary employees.

Among the workers' council members there were 8,902 women and 16,122 men under twenty five years of age.

In these enterprises there were 30,232 members of the managing boards.

In enterprises employing from 7 to 29 workers, there were 5,026 workers' councils with 87,039 members, and 4,995 managing boards with 22,637 members. In these enterprises 21,971 women and 17,427 men under twenty five years of age were members of the workers' council.

be stopped, because it leads to nothing good for countries which have the same objective — the development of socialism.

Good relations must be founded on something real, must be founded on sincerity and confidence. We cannot be deluded by flourishes of words, which differ from practice. Where would we get if we were to start enumerating and criticising everything that is bad in some countries or what we dislike in them? Yes, there are things that should be criticised, but it is not difficult to tell constructive criticism from unconstructive and ill-intentioned one. We are not indifferent to the light in which Yugoslavia is shown in the countries developing socialism or in the countries of people's democracy and in the international labour movement in general. We demand the truth to be written and spoken about us, and not only for positive reality to be taciturnly passed over, while the negative cases, in a distorted form, are publicized. I think this is the least we can ask of comrades in the countries of people's democracy and socialism, and of others. When the mutual relations are understood in this way, I am convinced they will be not only good but also lasting and beneficial for all the socialist world.

I cannot but mention here the criticism passed on our entire social system to which many Western critics dispute a democratic character. It would be necessary for them, too, to come to our factories and to talk with our workers and try to understand where the foundations of a true democracy lie; whether in a multiple party political rivalry who stubbornly proclaim themselves for perfect democracy where there is a legal right for every capitalist to exploit other peoples work for his personal enrichment, etc., or in a system where the producers themselves manage the means of production, where the broadest masses of people are in a position to participate, and to participate in the management both in the economy and in all the other fields of public life. For such critics there is no democracy if the individual is not granted the right to establish a reactionary party by demagogic procedure or receipt. We have nothing to complain if the people in the West are satisfied with several or many parties who squabble among themselves (that is their own business). But we have succeeded to create something new — the Socialist Alliance of the Working People round the programme of which the great majority of our people has rallied. This Alliance includes also those who used to belong once to various parties and who have become convinced that that has brought nothing good to our country. These are builders of socialism today who know that they want. That is an immense organization which embraces the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and where it is freely discussed and, as far as possible, the best decisions taken in a truly democratic way which are implemented by the efforts of our entire socialist community.

I am convinced that it is clear to all of you that this Congress should give a new, still stronger impetus for the further development and improvement of workers' self-government. One of the most essential questions is the labour productivity and a still better organization of production. Naturally, we must remove as soon as possible those elements which did not stimulate the increase of productivity of labour and which still hinder the creative ability and initiative of the workers to be developed to the full extent. When speaking of increased labour productivity we must at the same time think on the increased living standard of the workers. We cannot always appeal to the consciousness of the workers to produce more without letting them feel the results of their efforts in increased earnings and a higher living standard. This is possible now, because we can now invest and make new factories and enterprises at a more moderate rate. I must emphasise on this occasion that in some cases new investments have again started to expand at an exaggerated rate, although we have decided for these to be reduced so that more could be expended on living standard. I think that here again the working collectives can and must have more influence and control.

The Workers' Councils should deal not only with the technical problems of production but also with economic problems of the enterprise itself and the broader problems of the market, etc. We are aware that in some managing executives of the enterprises curtail such rights of the Workers' Councils and the workers, again, yield only too easily to such improper treatment of the Workers' Councils. Such wrong ideas should be eliminated with more energy.

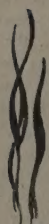
That is, comrades, what I wanted to say to you in brief, in the conviction that this first Congress of Workers' Councils will bring important decisions. I wish once again to extend my greetings to all of you and to wish you much success in your work.

belgrade

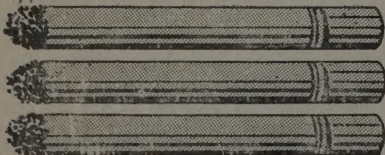
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exports and imports



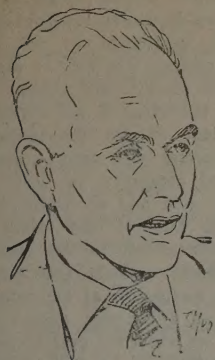
export-import



alimentation, industrial and
colonial products,
livestock food, starch, glucose,
tobacco and tobacco
products, hemp and tow, oil plants
and oil crops of all kinds

tobacco exporting depot: smederevo phone 77
hemp collecting depot: sivač, phone 2

phones: 21.111/115 — telex 01137 cables: centroprom belgrade — pob 454 agencies: paris, 29, rue
rambon phone opera 89-31 — rijeka, supilova 11, phone 28-97 — sombor, apatinski put 1, phone 211.



Declaration of the Federal People's Assembly on Halting of Nuclear Tests

dr. Sergije MAKIEDO

MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY IN THE STATE SECRETARIAT
FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

THE renewal of the disarmament talks at this years session of the subcommittee of the UN Disarmament led to the revival of the hope that initial and partial agreements are indeed possible at present in this field. It is natural that such a development led to an increased pressure of international public opinion and new efforts of the official factors who wish to profit by the favourable atmosphere in London so that at least the first step be made towards the achievement of concrete results. These tendencies were particularly manifest with regard to the problem of the cessation of nuclear explosions.

Yugoslavia not only devoted full attention to these efforts but also actively contributed by her concrete initiatives to the endeavours to find practical solutions for the cessation of nuclear explosions. Among these initiatives one should particularly mention the numerous statements by President Tito and other Yugoslav leaders, the activities of the Yugoslav representative in the UN, the stress of the need to prohibit test explosions in the Yugoslav draft Resolution in the Disarmament Commission on July 10, 1956 and the memorandum to the sub-commission for disarmament of April 10, 1957 etc.

The Yugoslav initiatives aiming at the cessation of nuclear experiment were inspired by two basic motives, one of a humanitarian and the other of a political nature. The first is inspired by the dangers of the negative genetic effects for mankind which are called forth by the impossibility to fully assess the effects of radiation for which it is illusory to define territorial or any other limits. However it would be a mistake to limit the dangers involved by nuclear test explosions only to the health, security and heritage of mankind, as the negative influence of the experiments on the international situation is no less important. These explosions constitute an integral if not vital part of armament race their prime objective being the increase of the destructive power of nuclear weapons. Each new experiment leads to the introduction of a new and still more powerful weapon into the world arsenal. Therefore every fresh explosion is a step further to the lasting and irrevocable introduction of nuclear weapons into world armaments and a confirmation of the resolute decision to use these destructive weapons in case of armed conflict. Needless to say, that such a state of affairs can only

have a negative effect on the international situation as it aggravates fear, suspicions and mistrust in the world and impedes the creation of a favourable atmosphere for the solution of outstanding international problems.

There were various and fairly frequent demarches and initiatives for the cessation of nuclear experiments during the past few years. However it was only of late that the situation became really ripe for concrete actions, there having been many serious obstacles which impeded the progress towards concrete solutions in the international sphere. In this respect one should primarily mention the elements of cold war in international relations, scepticism with regard to the possibility of genuine progress in the field of disarmament, insufficient knowledge and acquaintance of public opinion with the dangers of nuclear explosions, certain illusions that it is possible to change the balance of power by means of a monopoly over nuclear weapons etc. Such a situation inevitably invested all initiatives for the cessation of test explosions with a vague and general character which was still fairly far from practical and concrete solutions. It was only the more serious changes in international relations which led to the disappearance or weakening of some of the above mentioned elements thus enabling the quest of new forms of initiatives for the cessation of nuclear test explosions.

The struggle waged of late between the tendencies to maintain and develop the monopoly over nuclear weapons by the big nuclear powers, and the endeavours of some other countries to begin the production of nuclear weapons, which by their very nature imply the unlimited continuance of nuclear explosions should influence the more rapid solution of this problem not a little. Although it may seem that the tendency to expand the number of nuclear powers has been checked for the time being, it is unlikely that things will remain as they are. It is hard to imagine that the countries objectively in a position to produce weapons will renounce this possibility as long as the present armaments race continues.

It is superfluous to contend that both tendencies are extremely dangerous. While the monopoly over nuclear weapons leads to the strengthening of bloc policy and discipline, the division into spheres of interest, aggravation of the disarmaments, race etc. the

other tendency is pregnant with the threat of uncontrolled manipulation and increase of nuclear armaments including the possibility that it be used in an irresponsible manner for the settlement of minor conflicts thus aggravating the danger of a global nuclear war.

There is no choice between the tendencies and they cannot be posed alternatively. Both are dangerous and negative. The only alternative, the only possible solution consists in the urgent and resolute measures for the settlement of the disarmament problem i.e. the discontinuance of the production of fissile materials for military purposes, the prohibition of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, the elimination and conversion for peaceful purposes of fissile materials stocks intended for military use, the implementation of measures for the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments, the reduction of military expenditure as well as the creation of an effective controls system.

The cessation of experimental explosions is the first measure required in this direction and is already feasible today while enjoying the broad support of the public opinion and governments of many countries. The fruitful activities of Yugoslavia so far, especially after the initiatives in the Commission and subcommittee for Disarmament including also the proposals on the cessation of experiment imposed special duties and role to Yugoslavia which the latter fulfilled by the Declaration of the People's Assembly in which concrete proposals are made for the cessation of nuclear experiment precisely in that manner which characterizes the contemporary situation in the field of nuclear test explosions and disarmament in general.

The declaration of the Federal Peoples Assembly primarily lays down the special responsibility of the powers engaged in test explosions and the preparations for eventual nuclear war in general. Every new nuclear explosion, every, even the least progress in the strengthening of the destructive power of nuclear weapons, every fresh step in the disarmament race increase this responsibility, before ones own people, before world public opinion, the international community and mankind as a whole. In spite of the difficulties, suspicions and distrust inherited from the „cold war“ period the correct interpretation of this responsibility must be a decisive element in the

abandonment of the already compromised methods which, — in an intricate system of talks, — deliberately or not block the way to what the entire mankind feels is not only possible but also indispensable.

Such a responsibility of the few big powers for the realization of an essential progress vouchsafes the justified hope that they will, in the interest of peace, international cooperation and future of mankind as well as in their own interest do all that is necessary to create a better atmosphere in the world which will enable the further solution not only of disarmament problems in general, but also of other outstanding international issues. At this moment the cessation of nuclear test explosions is primarily necessary.

Already the present protracted talks and exchange of opinion on the problem of nuclear test explosions have shown that the linking up of this problem with the other complex of nuclear armaments and the problem of disarmament in general, through the conditioning of its solution by the parallel solution of other problems cannot lead to success. It is necessary to contemplate the problem separately and find a priority solution, — which does not mean that it should be artificially isolated from the other forms of the disarmament problem. On the contrary once resolved, it would exert a favourable influence on other problems in this domain especially those whose solution is conditioned at present by the quest of an artificially conceived "concurrence" with the cessation of explosions. What is necessary is an agreement within the framework of the sub-Committee on the cessation of nuclear experiments. If it is not possible for this agreement provide an immediate and lasting solution of the problem, a solution by means of an agreement on the cessation of experiments over a fixed period is doubtless possible in view of the latest significant Soviet proposal on the temporary cessation of test explosions over a given period and appropriate international control, and the latest US initiative which seems in principle fairly close to the Soviet proposal. It seems desirable to supplement such a solution by the declarations of the UN member countries that they not be the first to continue the nuclear test explosions, thus converting the temporary into a lasting solution. Moreover it is impossible to imagine a situation in which after the expiration of a temporary agreement on the cessation of nuclear explosions, the later could be continued? Certainly not, if one departs from the standpoint that under such conditions the international situation will inevitably evolve in a positive direction. The issuing of such a Declaration immediately, namely before an agreement was reached could play a decisive role in order to facilitate and accelerate the conclusion of an agreement on a lasting or temporary cessation.

Last, in spite of the fact that a positive assessment of the present state of affairs during the London talks should justify the stress on the responsibility and action of the UN members of the subcommittee of the UN disarmament commission as a collective body responsible before the international

community embodied in the UN General Assembly, it is not possible to ignore the collective responsibility of every individual power engaged in the implementation of nuclear test explosions. Every action and initiative implemented on the part of any power engaged in nuclear test explosions, for the purpose of improving the situation in connection with these explosions and pave the way to a broader and common solution may only be welcome at this moment. It is not possible either to fully preclude a situation in which the individual responsibility of each of these power would constitute the basis for the approach of public opinion in the world and all the forces which are opposed to nuclear explosions. Nonetheless one should hope that the present common efforts will be able to find a lasting or temporary solution under the improved conditions of the London talks.

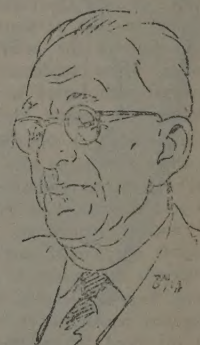
All these elements contained in the Declaration of the Federal Peoples Assembly make it at the same time a document which appeals equally to conscience and reason, a synthesis of all that mankind feels as

indispensable from the moral point of view and that which is possible at the same time under concrete historical conditions.

We are all confronted by the question whether the greatest discovery of the human mind, nuclear energy, will become an instrument of wellbeing or an instrument of self destruction, whether the liberation of the natural forces will serve peaceful development and prosperity or lead to ruthless destruction and collective suicide of mankind? The fate of the world largely depends on the answer to this question. It is not expedient to doubt that those who are the most responsible at the moment for the finding of a concrete answer to this question and on whom the eyes of the whole world are rivetted will be deaf to the voice of conscience and reason which demands a reply in favour of mankind. The first, initial and perhaps most important step in the chain of urgently needed solutions — namely an agreement (even temporary) on the cessation of nuclear test explosions — occupies a vital place in this reply and will not brook any delay.

A Fatal Misuse of Science

dr. Siniša STANKOVIĆ



AS far back as seventy years ago, on the occasion of the opening of the Pasteur Institute in Paris, Louis Pasteur, the discoverer of infectious microbes and a great benefactor of mankind, spoke the words which now ring out as a testament to future generations:

"If I were allowed to conclude with the philosophic reflections which your presence in this hall inspires, I would say that two oppress them. The first law tends only today: one law of blood and death, which every day invents new means for fighting and compels nations to be always on guard against each other; and another law of peace, work and salvation, which thinks only of freeing people from the evils that oppress them. The first law tends only towards violent conquest, the second only towards the progress of mankind. The law of peace sets human life above all victories; the second law would sacrifice hundreds of thousands of lives to satisfy the ambitions of a single man. Which of these two laws will triumph, God alone knows. But what we can say is that French science, following the law of humanity, will endeavour to widen the limits of life".

The dream of the great scientist "that science and peace will triumph over ignorance and war, that the peoples will unite, not to destroy but to build", has not yet come

true; the law of blood and death has not yet died. Twelve years after the end of the last war and bloodshed, it is again raising its head, and this time in a terrible form as it makes use of the greatest achievement of modern science — the atomic energy on which the worlds rest. The first atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima carried off about 200,000 victims; the destructive force of the new bombs seems to have increased two thousand-fold. It is said that the USA and the USSR today have such stocks of nuclear weapons that they could completely destroy each other. It follows therefore that the potential danger of destruction through the misuse of science and its achievement is already threatening mankind. This knowledge itself is enough to cause anxiety among all the peoples of the world. But this is not all. The very preparations for a possible nuclear war are bringing a real and direct threat to the health and fate of mankind. Most of the competent scientists unambiguously warn us of the danger of a rapid increase of radio-active particles in the atmosphere as a result of frequent nuclear bomb tests. From an article published by the American expert, M. Eisenbud, in the latest issue of the "Scientific Monthly" it follows clearly that the quantity of radio-active strontium has considerably increased in the USA soil and in human food, especially in milk, since

March 1954. This element, which forms part of the radioactive dust created in the atmosphere during nuclear explosions, resembles calcium, and is easily deposited in human bones, especially those of small children. In all probability this quantity will be even more increased in the next few years, if nuclear weapon tests are continued at the same rate or a quicker one. Optimists believe that the quantity of radio-strontium in the atmosphere and in the soil is still below the level of harmfulness. But what is to be the limit? Tests show that radio-strontium causes bone cancer, leukemia and hereditary changes. But the harmful dose of radioactive materials cannot be measured by the average quantity today contained in the atmosphere, whence it penetrates the soil. Living beings, plants and other organisms, as well as man, have a capability of gradually accumulating these materials in their texture in a far greater quantity than is found in their direct neighbourhood. Besides, there is still no tolerance limit for the operation of radio-active substances on the hereditary nature of man. Even minimal doses, if operating for some time, can cause hereditary mutations in living beings — which are for the most part harmful. One should not lose sight of the fact that radio-active dust, collected in the atmosphere as a result of nuclear tests carried out so far, will continue to fall for years on the surface of the earth, on arable soil, on the oceans and inland waters, and thence reach living beings, including man.

The conclusion is clear. The biological future of man is already threatened by the nuclear weapon tests. The concern of world public opinion, which has expressed with increasing force during the last few months, is quite justified. It is all the more justified as misuse of science is involved, and this at a time when science, especially physics and biology, with their latest discoveries new and unprecedented prospects for a finer future of mankind.

Pre-historic man used to kill the mammoth with stones, and fought the natural forces with his bare hands. Today the modern engineer can blow up entire mountains by merely pressing an electric button, he can guide from afar the movements of ships and airplanes, while a modern doctor can operate on such sensitive organs as the heart and the brain. The path covered, thanks to science — that finest technique of man — is enormous. But possibilities for material progress in the near future are far greater. With new sources of energy, such as nuclear power, the future of man appears like a dream. The face of the earth can be completely

changed: deserts can be irrigated, rivers shifted, new sea connections established, forests grown where necessary, new industrial products created — in a word, human labour can be completely freed and directed towards creative purposes.

The prerequisite for this is that Pasteur's law of blood and death should disappear once and for all. It compels social forces in many countries to misuse science to the point of

a veritable crime against mankind. This crime must be unconditionally and immediately prevented before it is too late. The forces of peace in the world are today sufficiently strong to resist the continuation of tests with nuclear arms, and prevent their possible use in the future. The conscience of mankind has already clearly spoken, on this, and no Government will dare turn a deaf ear to it.

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND NUCLEAR TESTS

dr. Miloš RADOJKOVIĆ

THE question of the consequences of test explosions of atomic and hydrogen bombs may, in view of its complexity, be examined from different angles, so that one can hear views from various fields of scientific activity. An important aspect of this question is the attitude of science and modern international public law, both in connection with the banning of atomic and hydrogen bombs in case of an armed conflict and in regard to the consequences of test explosions of atomic and hydrogen bombs in time of peace.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century a well-known diplomat said that „three centuries of civilization have given Europe an international law based on the principle that nations should do as much good as possible to each other in time of peace, and as little harm as possible during war“. Today, in the organized international community, especially under the legal order of the United Nations Organization, this concept has lost any of its validity but, on the contrary, has been duly elaborated in the UN Charter. It should be borne in mind that the Charter envisages general cooperation between the member states of UNO in all fields of human activity in time of peace, while in the event of an armed conflict it envisages collective compulsory measures against the aggressor. Hence, in my opinion, it is necessary to examine the question of test explosions of atomic and hydrogen bombs in the light of the question whether atomic and hydrogen bombs are allowable or not in international conflicts.

I. Starting from certain basic concepts which found expression in the development of the human community, as well as from definite principles and rules which are valid in present-day international law, it is my deepest conviction that the use of atomic and hydrogen bombs is not permissible, although the international community has not yet taken steps to prohibit this use by an explicit international rule, as it has done with other weapons of mass destructions of a far lesser effect. I base my belief on the following:

As the idea of war — the idea of armed conflict — has always meant resorting to sheer force, the question is whether this force, besides its own law, recognizes some other laws and rules. Such laws and rules exist, and indeed, no matter how deeply we penetrate into the history of conflict between nations, we encounter certain customs which have always been respected. Generally speaking, it has always been emphasized that „war cannot be considered an elemental phenomenon which takes place and is carried on in defiance of all rules“. Usages have arisen, some of which go back to times immemorial, and which impose on the belligerents certain laws, the authority of which nobody dreams of disputing. The differentiating between combatants and non-combatants, which is of relatively recent date, is not confirmed by any obligatory text; still it serves no less as a basis in the system of practice used in the wars of our time“.

Both theory and practice have confirmed the view that war is a relation of state toward state, i.e. a conflict between states, and not a struggle against the peaceful and unarmed population.

These conceptions are corroborated by definite agreed rules which the states have adopted to humanize war as much as possible. Thus the Petrograd Declaration of the year 1868 which was drawn up solely by military experts stresses as the basic concepts:

„that the only legitimate aim which states must set themselves is the weakening of the military power of the enemy;

„that with this object in view it suffices to incapacitate for fighting as many men as possible;

„that this objective is exceeded by the use of arms which would unnecessarily increase the sufferings of the men incapacitated for fighting or would render their death inevitable, and

„that the use of such arms would therefore be contrary to the laws of humanity“.

At other international meetings, such as the Brussels Conference (1847), the session

of the Institute for International law (1880) and the two Hague Conferences (1889 and 1907) it was generally agreed that the belligerents do not have an unlimited right of choosing weapons for fighting the enemy, and that deeds contrary to the laws of humanity, without being useful or necessary for achieving war aims, should be condemned. Thus Article 22 of the Set of Rules of the Fourth Hague Convention on the laws and usages of war on land, held in 1907, lays down as a general principle that "the right of belligerents to adopt means of injuring the enemy is not unlimited". A writer rightly emphasized that the whole regulation of the law of war rests on this basic principle. Article 23 of the same Rules prohibits, *inter alia*, the use of poison or poisoned weapons, and the employment of arms, projectiles or material calculated to cause unnecessary suffering. But this is not all. The above mentioned Art. 23 also refers to "prohibitions laid down by special Conventions between belligerents. Thus the agreed law of war recognises, in addition to the already mentioned 1868 Petrograd Declaration, the Hague Declaration of 1899 on the prohibition of the use of projectiles whose purpose is solely to release asphyxiating or poisonous gases; the Hague Declaration of 1899 on the use of projectiles which easily spread or burst in the human body (dumdum bullets); the 1922 Washington Convention on the prohibition of asphyxiating or poisonous gases and similar poisons; the Geneva Protocol of 1925 on the prohibition of use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous and similar gases and bacteriological warfare.

Finally, we cannot but mention in this place the preamble to the Fourth Hague Convention on the Laws and Customs of War on Land, known as "De Martens Clause". This preamble, which was sanctioned by the Nuremberg Judgment after the Second World War, reads as follows:

"Until a more complete code of laws of war has been issued, the High Contracting Parties deem it expedient to declare that in cases not included in the Regulations adopted by them, the inhabitants and the belligerents remain under the protection of the principles of the Law of Nations issuing from the usages established among civilized peoples, from the laws of humanity, and from the dictates of the public conscience."

As the mentioned prohibitions in the agreed texts are given only as an example, one can only draw the conclusion from the above material that the use of both atomic and hydrogen weapons in time of war must be considered as not permissible under international law. In order to remove all doubt in the future as regards this prohibition, it is necessary to work indefatigably for the express prohibition of these weapons by the international community, which is called for by both the laws of humanity and public conscience.¹

II. If the question of atomic and hydrogen bombs is thus raised at the time of an armed conflict, when nations should do each other as little harm as possible, as confirmed by the legal regulations — then, *a fortiori*, one must consider test explosions of atomic and hydrogen bombs as illicit and to be prohibited, as — judging by statements made by

responsible scientists — they may cause heavy suffering and incalculable loss to nations even in time of peace.

It has already been said that the peoples are called upon, by ever greater needs for cooperation in various fields, to work for the ensurance of peaceful and stable life and development, and this cooperation has been reflected for some time past in various kinds of activity, including those threatened by test explosions of atomic and hydrogen bombs.

Herewith are some examples.

With a view to ensuring the protection and inviolability of the human personality, several conventions have been adopted and organizations set up which are of international significance. Thus the abuse of opium, morphine, cocaine and other harmful drugs led from 1912 onwards, to the signing of several conventions, the purpose of which is the control of the production of opium and the regulation of its imports and exports, as well as control over the opium trade for medical purposes. The merciless exploitation of natives forced the colonial powers to adopt agreements on the banning of trade in arms and alcohol in the colonies. The League of Nations Pact entrusted society with a general control over trade in arms and ammunition with countries where this control is indispensable in the general interest; these are just the areas which after the First World War were placed under Mandates and are today under trusteeship — in keeping with the UN Charter — (except those which became independent states). Furthermore, an Organization for Hygiene was formed in the framework of the League of Nations, and was entrusted with the task of taking international measures, in keeping with the Pact, for preventing and combating diseases. Moreover, members of the League undertook, in keeping with Article 25, to stimulate and help the setting up of duly authorized voluntary national organizations of the Red Cross, whose aim is improvement of health, guarding against disease and mitigation of suffering throughout the world. The Constitution of the World Health Organization was passed on July 22, 1946, in New York, and it was said to be an extraordinary achievement in the field of health and medicine. With a view to protecting populations against famine, certain agreements have been concluded from 1921 onwards, including the Agreement on the Organization of Food and Agriculture. — The Doctrine agrees that the cooperation of states on health questions constitutes one of their basic duties.

It should also be noted that there exist numerous bilateral and multilateral agreements between states, whose aim is protection of plants and animals. The same is valid for the protection of the produce of the sea.

It is not permissible that the numerous and far-reaching efforts of states and the international community in the field of health protection and the preservation of life generally should be jeopardized by test explosions of atomic and hydrogen bombs, whose consequences, in the opinion of competent experts from all over the world, may be reflected in the future on the entire living world.

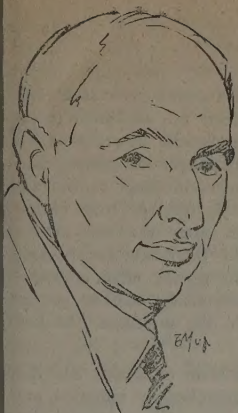
It is well-known that states, on the basis of this right of self-preservation, can take

measures for safeguarding against introduction of goods dangerous for health and security, such as opium, cocaine, explosive and livestock and plants infected with diseases which might spread. The uncontrolled operation of test explosions of atomic and hydrogen bombs, however, may cause is already causing definite consequences of a legal nature also. It can threaten the freedom of the seas. But it certainly results in reducing the sovereign rights of states, if they are no longer in a position to protect their citizens from becoming victims of test explosions. Of course, damage caused in this way raises not only the question of compensation, but also the question of the responsibility of those who undertake these test explosions, exposing to dangers of all kinds both their own citizens and those of other countries. This responsibility is great if the competent international organ — in accordance with statements made by responsible scientists — establishes the fact that test explosions themselves may even in time of peace lead to mass destruction or to consequences harmful for living beings.

Every individual may feel threatened and has the right to demand that an end be put to irresponsible actions especially today, when his rights as a human being, and particularly the right to life and health, are guaranteed by the UN Charter and the General Declaration of Human Rights.

In our view, the problem of the consequences of experimental explosions of atomic and hydrogen bombs should be placed before the World Health Organization, before the Economic and Social Council, and before the General Assembly of United Nations; before the World Health Organization, whose aim is "that all peoples should achieve the highest possible health level" which, according to Art. 57 of the Charter, is linked with the United Nations Organization, and whose task is to give recommendations in regard to international health questions, to foster activities in the field of mental health, especially those affecting the harmony of human relations, to promote and conduct research in the field of health and to assist in developing an informed public opinion among all peoples in matters of health; and before the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly which, in keeping with the Charter, is called upon to stimulate study and make recommendations with a view to developing international cooperation in the health field (Art. 13b), as well as to help the settlement of these same health problems (Art. 55b).

¹ Antoine Fillet, who had an excellent knowledge of the Law of War, remarked a far back as 1898 (*Les Lois Actuelles de la Guerre*) that the "use of a means of destruction would be illicit if its force was such as to produce an effect on non-combatants in the vicinity of the place of hostilities. Indeed except for poisoning water and bombardment one cannot see what this means might be. But it is not improbable that with the progress of science a method will be found how to turn an entire region into a huge cemetery where combatants and non-combatants would share a common fate. On that day right and humanity would rebel against the uses to which new discoveries are put. These are the principles which current international law recognizes". (Page 92).



FIRST STEPS ARE USEFUL AND NECESSARY

— On Disarmament Problem —

John STRACHEY

EX-MINISTER IN THE BRITISH LABOURITE
GOVERNMENT

The Labour Party is convinced of the necessity for an agreement for the progressive abolition of nuclear tests. We do not pretend to know the extent of the damage to world health which is being done by the continuance of the tests. Scientific opinion is by no means unanimous on this question.

Nevertheless, the whole population of the world feels profound anxiety whenever nuclear tests are undertaken. Therefore, for this reason alone it is necessary that an international agreement should be arrived at at the earliest possible moment.

But in our opinion an agreement on the progressive abolition of the test is even more necessary as a first step towards nuclear disarmament, than it is for health reasons. There may be doubt as to the extent of the

damage being done to health by the test explosions. There can be no doubt that the nuclear arms race must in the end lead to world catastrophe unless it is stopped.

Therefore, we see the achievement of an agreement on tests, above all, as a first step towards general and nuclear disarmament. I need not waste space in attempting to describe the various suggestions for a disarmament agreement in both the nuclear and in the conventional armament field, which have been suggested by the various powers from time to time. The Labour Party standpoint is that the widest and largest measure of all-round disarmament which can be agreed upon is best. But, on the other hand, we would not refuse even the most modest agreement as a first step. Indeed, I would say that any agreement on disarmament, even if it was of so limited a character as for example the suspension of nuclear tests for one year, would be valuable, for once an agreement of any sort had been reached in this field it would be much easier to extend and enlarge it until it become a general disarmament agreement.

Therefore, we do not take the view that, there can be no agreement in the limited field of test without a further agreement on the production and storage of nuclear material or for the destruction of existing stocks of such material. All these further steps in nuclear disarmament are highly desirable, but in this matter we must not make the best the enemy of the good. In the same way, it is highly desirable to link nuclear disarmament with a further production in conventional forces. And yet again, disarmament of every kind must no doubt be linked with the solution of the main political problems, such as Germany, which acutely divide the Western and Eastern world.

But here too, in our view, it would be entirely wrong to make the achievement of disarmament wait for a solution of the German problem. As the leader of the Labour Party, Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, has said recently, the achievement of a measure of disarmament would on the contrary make much easier the solution of the acute political difference between East and West, such as German reunification.

In a word, the achievement of a measure of disarmament and the achievement of a *detente* in the political field have a highly

dialectical relationship. One cannot in the end be achieved without the other. Nevertheless, it does not very much matter at which point we begin and at the moment it seems more hopeful to achieve a measure of disarmament as a step towards political settlements than to achieve political settlements as a step towards disarmament.

Having said all this, I must add that the Labour Party naturally cannot advocate disarmament by Great Britain alone and without a corresponding disarmament by the other states of the world. No responsible political party can advocate unilateral disarmament by example for its own country. It would not be followed by its own people if it did so. I am sure that the Yugoslav Government would not enter upon such a course for Yugoslavia and would not expect Britain to do so either.

Again, we shall not achieve nuclear disarmament merely by declarations. There must be an absolutely reliable system of international control and supervision to ensure that no state can evade its disarmament obligations. This is naturally above all indispensable in the nuclear field. None of the nuclear powers can be expected to place its life in the hands of its rivals by trusting wholly to good faith in this matter. I do not believe, however, that it is impossible to devise a system of international inspection and control which would make possible at least the first steps in nuclear disarmament. It may be that the smaller nuclear explosions are no longer automatically detectable wherever they may take place. But a relatively simple system of international observation posts can surely overcome this difficulty. It is no doubt rather more difficult to control the production of nuclear material, but even this involves no more than the permanent station of international inspectors at all the nuclear power stations in existence, not surely an impossible proposition.

To sum up the first steps at any rate in nuclear disarmament appear to be at once indispensable and practicable. Such disarmament must be all-round in the sense that each of the three nuclear powers must agree to it. It must also today include the potential nuclear powers. Such an agreement should go as far as possible, but it would be much better to achieve even a small and limited agreement than to allow the present nuclear arms race to go on unchecked. Finally, effective inspection and control is indispensable to the achievement of such an agreement.



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Danger for Human Society

dr. Borivoje DAMJANOVIĆ

NUCLEAR energy, that immense force liberated from the atom nucleus which promises immense benefits to mankind begins to frighten us.

This is no longer the fear of the mystery and ignorance of the force of nuclear energy, but of the proven facts at present, and the vision of the possibility of still more fatal effects for our future and posterity.

The scientists of all countries are devoting their maximum efforts to utilize nuclear energy for the improvement of human life and health but this did not in the least prevent the other tendency inspired by destructive instincts to develop this newly discovered source of power for destructive purposes. This does not involve momentary destructive effects as in the case of every other military weapon, but of a lasting destructive effect where present acts will cause undesired consequences for the coming generations.

The fall-out of radioactive strontium which is particularly dangerous as it affects the genetic characteristics of man is still continuing from the explosions of the atom bomb over Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The explosion of every hydrogen bomb causes vast quantities of radioactive strontium — 90 to be ejected into the atmosphere. The contamination of the earth by such and other radioactive materials caused by nuclear and thermonuclear explosions is steadily nearing the point when it becomes dangerous for man and all other living creatures. Even if further explosions were discontinued, the content of strontium-90 on earth will increase until 1970 when it will be sixfold higher than today (Professor Dr Berchert). At that time the quantity of strontium-90 in human bodies will exceed the dose permitted over 30 per cent. In calcium deficient areas the soil will absorb larger quantities of strontium so that the inhabitants of those areas will receive twelve times the dose of radiation allowed until 1970.

The explosions touched off in 1954 filled the atmosphere with such a dose of strontium which would, if equally distributed over the whole surface of the earth already constitute a real danger for mankind. From the end of the war to date there were over ten hydrogen and over a hundred nuclear explosions.

During the nuclear and thermonuclear explosions a large part of radioactive particles created during the explosion or called forth by radioactivity is lifted into the atmosphere by the explosion cloud, where it spreads over hundreds of thousands of square kilometers during the first few hours. This radioactive cloud carried by the air currents and wind moves at various speeds through the atmosphere and the pattern of radioactive fall-out is conditioned both by the size of the particles and the speed of wind. Owing to their weight the radioactive particles sooner or

later fall according to the law of gravitation on the earth's surface. This precipitation may be accelerated by rain or snow fall. Thus vast areas in any part of the earth may be contaminated by radioactivity.

Radioactive elements in one way or other arrive on the earth, and form a layer on its surface, consequently contaminating also plants, vegetables etc. Radioactive elements penetrate into the earth with rain and are thus absorbed by the plants. Using such contaminated crops and vegetables for food, men and livestock introduce radioactive elements into their body. A similar process also takes place in the seas and other waters.

When a radio-element is introduced in the organism it settles by natural affinity in an individual tissue or organ. For instance radioactive iodine is absorbed by the pituitary gland, strontium accumulates in bone marrow etc. These elements are in most cases very slowly eliminated from the human body by way of urine, excreta, sputum, perspiration, breathing and other ways of secretion, but today we do not have any practical means by which this process of elimination could be accelerated thus in some way neutralizing the radioactive effect of this element introduced into the body. Consequently it remains in the body and radiates, thus provoking diseases which this process of elimination could be

Needless to say, this is all conditioned by the quantity of radiation to which the organism is subjected, individual sensitivity as well as the susceptibility of the individual organs and tissues to radiation. Consequently there is also a certain dose of radiation which will not cause any serious biological effects upon the organism. This is the maximum dose of radiation permitted which the human body may receive permanently without it causing any visible harm. There is no such

maximum dose for the genetic effects of radiation. Here the effects are cumulative so that every dose of radiation, however negligible, increases the likelihood of genetic mutation. Hence the danger of small continuous doses which are usually received from radiological contamination after the test explosions of nuclear and thermonuclear bombs. The mechanism of the genetic effect of radiation is still not sufficiently known, but it essentially consists in the increased likelihood of mutations.

Radioactivity calls forth mutations and the types of mutations provoked by radiation are similar to natural changes. The vast majority of mutations are detrimental for the individual specimen.

The distinguished geneticist and scientist Dr Warren Weaver considers that about 6000 children which will be born during the present generation will be affected by the consequences of the present atomic experiments.

The radiation caused by the present experimental explosions may be considered highly dangerous in the genetical sense of the word. Four per cent of the children exposed since their conception of the present doses of nuclear radiation may show various congenital mental and physical abnormalities.

Mankind is conscious of all these dangers and raised its voice against this new peril in self defence. Scientists from many countries are protesting resolutely against the fatal and destructive explosion of their painstaking achievements which are intended for the progress of mankind. The danger is great and general and does not threaten only those against which it is directed, or those which use it so inhumanly, but it threatens mankind as a whole, irrespective of whether involved or not in the experimental nuclear and thermonuclear explosions or eventual armed conflict. Therefore the only sure way for the elimination of this terrible and general danger whose scope we are as yet unable to foresee lies in the discontinuance of all types of nuclear and thermonuclear explosions and the prohibition of these weapons of mass destruction.

THE DANGERS OF ATOM AND HYDROGEN BOMB TEST EXPLOSIONS

ing. Predrag ANASTASIJEVIĆ

BY the end of April Radio Oslo broadcast the message of Dr Albert Schweitzer the Nobel Peace Prize winner. The well known physician who is still working in his hospital at Lambarene in French Equatorial Africa sent a message to all peoples of the world warning them of the terrible consequences of various types of atomic weapons and nuclear test explosions which threaten mankind.

„When public opinion in all countries and

all peoples of the world becomes aware of the dangers involved by the continuation of these experiments and if it is inspired by the reasons imposed by this realization then the statesmen should reach an agreement on the cessation of experiments. The cessation of experiments would be the first ray of hope which is patiently awaited by long suffering mankind.”

This „Declaration of Conscience” by Dr Schweitzer had strong and broad repercussions

through the world. Several days before, the Göttingen Declaration signed by eighteen German physicists employed in the „Max Planck“ nuclear research institute met with a similar reception. These scientists among which there are also several Nobel Prize winners made it perfectly clear that they are not ready to cooperate on any project whatever which would lead to the production or tests of nuclear weapons. „Our country, they stated, will best be defended and will most effectively serve the peace if it renounces nuclear armaments. We will limit our activities as we did so far exclusively to the study of the possibilities of exploiting nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.“

Also before these events and especially afterwards many international conferences and meetings were organised at which the destructive force of nuclear power sources was discussed. A whole series of distinguished statesmen and scientists, the press and radio of almost all countries through the world devoted much attention to the dangers which threaten to destroy everything which mankind achieved so far at the price of immense efforts. The expressions of fear on many sides assumed the form of mass protests and the demand that nuclear explosions be henceforth prohibited.

The results of scientific research published so far on the effects of nuclear explosions indicate a substantial increase of radioactivity in almost all parts of the world. This could have been expected as sometimes during a nuclear explosion several million cubic

meters of earth fly into the air and are transformed into radioactive dust which, carried by the wind, spreads over vast areas. Increased radioactivity was established in almost all parts of Europe, although no atom bomb was exploded there.

The volumes of various materials published so far speak eloquently enough on the effects of radiation to which the inhabitants of Hiroshima and Nagasaki are still exposed. Many of these unfortunate people apart from the momentary injuries and burns sustained, hovered long on the verge of death owing to the lasting effects of radioactive dust. It was noted that radioactivity in various parts of the body destroys certain chemical compounds and creates new ones which do not exist in the human body under normal conditions. These new compounds act as poison so that even quite small quantities of radioactive material may, by prolonged effect, provoke incurable diseases.

The accumulation of a radioactivity in human bodies obliged the US National Committee for Protection from Radiation to reduce the maximum permissible weekly dose of radiation in 1946 by about threefold in 1957.

There are attempts today to deceive and lull public opinion in the countries which produce nuclear weapons by allegedly scien-

tific arguments on the negligible danger of the present atomic experiments. There are even some who affirm that this radiation is less harmful than cosmic rays and „precise“ calculations are being made in order to prove that if the present tempo of nuclear explosions were continued, the level of radioactivity would rise only about fold by 1983.

Of late hydrogen bombs have been discovered and touched off whose radioactive effect is about 20 times less than the first hydrogen bomb tested three years ago. Just as if they would wish to say that there is no longer any danger of continuing nuclear weapons in the USA, USSR and confronted by the fact that the reserves of nuclear weapons in the USA, USSR and Great Britain are such that a catastrophe would be inevitable if they were used. The big powers are continuing to devote immense efforts to the development of nuclear weapons at a time when work on the peacetime application of nuclear energy which promises rapid progress and prosperity to mankind and opens broad vistas for the welfare and progress for all people and more humane relations between men — is finding the means for its further fruitful and far reaching development with extreme slowness and difficulty.

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Complications in the Middle East

AT ONE time almost every phase in the pacification of international relations in various parts of the world was accompanied by an increase of tension and instability in the Middle East. Now, this has happened again: the antagonistic powers in world politics seem to have concluded a tacit truce agreement in Europe and Asia, only to come to grips in the Middle East. The great Islam empire which contains the oldest states in the world as well as the youngest republics, is again a scene of important political events and risky moves of the Great Powers.

It is true that peace still reigns in the Middle East, but the events which are taking place there daily look like the signs of an approaching storm. Rifts have appeared in the Arab world which now endanger the work on the consolidation of inter-Arab solidarity — a task that has been the fundamental characteristic of all Middle Eastern developments in the past few years. In the general striving of the Arab peoples for effective political and economic emancipation and unity were, in the post-war period an essential aspect of the Middle Eastern picture, the present attempt to divide the Arab states into two camps constitutes the other side of this picture. While the coup in Jordan changed the rhythm of political life in that area, the disorders in the Lebanon on May 30 and June 9, together with the election campaign in the country, brought to the surface a question in which two different conceptions of Arab policy conflict.

Although the political and geographical profile of the Middle East has been changed in the past decade, some traditions are still unfortunately alive: the Arab countries, which have been invaded so many times in the past, and which have buried many empires, are now again the target of new and different aims. The times of Colonel Lawrence belong to the past, and the frontiers of foreign empires in that area have been crased in the dynamics of new history, but new forms of foreign penetration are now creating a source of discord there. In the present phase of profound changes in the Arab world, this conflict between the Arab movement for the unity and independence and the attempts of the great powers to build upon the ruins of this unity a new regime of domination is the chief characteristic of the Middle Eastern crisis. Intersected by frontiers and pregnant with the dangers, this region has — against the wishes of its population — been drawn into the ideological struggle of the blocs.

Dynasties in the Leading Role

The first signs of differences in the Arab coalition became apparent immediately after the April events in Jordan. The proclamation of the dictatorship of the Palace in that country was preceded by two very important events, which lead to a regrouping of forces

in the political mosaic in the Middle East: the visit of the ruler of Saudi Arabia to Washington, and the African tour of Richardson, the travelling ambassador of the Eisenhower policy. After his return from the United States, the King of Saudi Arabia — having secured deliveries of American arms for his country — approached a quiet revision of the foundations upon which the Arab front of positive neutrality rested, and Richardson's mission, although it did not come up to the expectations of the White House succeeded in diverting some Arab politicians from the policy based on cooperation of independent and sovereign Arab countries. Together with development in the Lebanon, a country which its Premier, Sami Solh, has already been practically included in the overseas sphere of the Western bloc, the shift of Jordan and Saudi Arabia towards Iraq, the only Arab member of the Baghdad Pact, brought about a split between these two countries and Syria and Egypt, the protagonists of independent Arab policy.



Nasser

The ruler of Arabia at that time suddenly displayed an ambition to become the chief political figure in that part of the world. His support to King Hussein of Jordan during the April coup was the beginning of discord within the four-power coalition (Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Jordan) and the first public manifestation of his disagreement with the ideas of independence which this coalition had transformed into an active political force of Arab renaissance. The joint action of the kings of Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Iraq, supported by the Western powers, has in the main two aims: first, to endanger relations with Egypt and Syria as much as possible (the expulsion of allied Syrian troops and Syrian and Egyptian nationals from Jordan, demands for the recall of diplomats from Cairo and Damascus, the sequestering of Syrian property in Saudi Arabia, and a number of backstage intrigues) and, secondly,

to find means of creating a new group of states in the Middle East which would include Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Lebanon. This group of states would depend on the United States and the political and ideological inventory of the Eisenhower doctrine.

If Arab unity was the chief moral and political basis of the independent Arab conceptions, it is now the target of an organized and destructive activity whose protagonists are, at the same time, the advocates of pro-Western conceptions: court lackeys and members of those circles which — in the social contrast of the Middle East — represent profit and corruption. Without an encouragement from the public of their own countries, they find support in the policy of the Western powers for which the Middle East means petrol exploitation privileges and strategic footholds. The conflict of these two Arab conceptions reflects the social aspect of the Arab revolution: the classes which have subjected the national interests of their broader regions to the aims of the policy of foreign powers wish to protect their class interests from the economic and political reforms that have already been placed on the political agenda of the Arab states.

It would be unrealistic to say that the operation by the three monarchs — which was obviously designed to isolate Egypt and discredit Nasser's policy — has not succeeded in undermining temporarily the unity of the Arab alliance and in endangering its internal strength. The Arab dynasties this time appear as the chief actors of Arab discord; disregarding their traditional rivalry they are working to realize a joint ambition in the foreign political field. At one time the unity of Arabs was retarded and hindered by their rivalry, and it is now being hindered by their friendship. The Saudi dynasty in Arabia, the only one whose prestige and influence has remained intact, and the descendants of the old and militant Hamitic houses of Amman and Baghdad, have — in spite of their long standing feud — found common cause in a question of decisive importance for the future of the Arab nation: for or against independent development. The strife between the Arab dynasties was for a long time in favour of British policy in dividing the Arab world, now their friendship is in favour of American policy in the Middle East. Accepting the pro-Western conception of a „vacuum“, which tends to break up the Arab movement for independence and unity in order to restore vassal relations in the Middle East, the ruling houses of Riad and Amman are now confronting the Arab countries with a new difficulty and with the necessity to adhere, with even greater energy, to their positions of sovereignty.

Throughout the post-war period the Arab people have been struggling to remain outside the political and ideological war between the East and the West, to consolidate their independence and equality, and to find the quickest possible way method of overcoming their economic backwardness. The path upon which the Arab dynasties wish to lead their countries is irreconcilable with the spirit and nature of this struggle, and it would be unrealistic of the patrons of plan to expect any lasting results.

Since we are speaking about patrons, we must emphasize that they, too, have learned something from the past. The history of the Western endeavours to prevent a revolt of the Arab states and to include them in their bloc organizations is well known, and it need not be retold here. It is a history of bloodshed and pressure, courts plots and military coup, police actions and withdrawals of economic assistance. But the resistance of the Arab peoples and their wish for national independence and free existence were too strong for the Bagdad Pact to make any headway. In this unequal struggle, which fills the first chapters of the modern history of the Arab people, the revolutionary spirit of the Arab renaissance successfully opposed the material power of colonialism, and even the open aggression which the two Western powers launched in November last year to destroy the source of resistance in Egypt.

It was at that time that the cause of Arab unity was strongest. The solidarity of the states with Egypt was complete and effective. Two significant events — Jordan's joining of the independent Arab coalition in February 1957, and the abrogation of the Anglo-Jordanian Treaty in March 1957 — opened a bright prospect for the rapprochement of the Arab countries and for their self-aid, and this was a hard blow to foreign domination in the area.

But at the time of triumphant moments of Arab national policy, the „vacuum“ theory was devised in Washington. This theory, if vacuum was to be understood as the non-existence of Western supremacy and the old forms of exploitation in the Middle East, would have been quite in order. Developments, however, soon revealed that the impressive fanfares of the theory were only a smoke-screen. It did not take long to be convinced that it was designed to retain the oil profits from the Middle East, as well as to engage the Arabs and their strategic positions in the military and ideological campaign of the Western bloc. It stood not only for a radical change of methods (instead of open pressure and armed intervention — economic assistance and methods of quiet and underground diplomacy), but also for a change in leadership. The United States appeared in the Middle East to replace her discredited allies and to increase the activity of the American companies in the Arab oil fields. While she acts in the name of the Western world and ideas, she seeks to establish American positions on the ruins of these of Britain and France. The aim, therefore, remains the same, only obsolete weapons are being replaced by modern forms of diplomatic activity and economic financial measures.

The disturbances in the Lebanon, where the government came into conflict with its own people over its acceptance of the Eisenhower doctrine, was followed by the royal Riad-Amman-Baghdad move, whose object was to exert concentric pressure on Syria. In this complex and invisible intrigue, which darkens the horizon of the Middle East, it is really difficult to sort out the elements on the basis of which a clearer picture could be drawn, but the aim of the royal offensive is plain: achieve by new methods what it was

not possible to achieve by the long efforts of the Baghdad policy or the unfortunate move by Guy Mollet and Eden. The danger of this operation in the Middle East lies not only in conflict between the Arab states, but also in the struggle in the area of the antagonistic non-Arab powers. And such a duel of the blocs is the thing the Arab people least desire to see in their area, for it would threaten their independence cause.

Just as it is difficult to say that the withdrawal of Jordan and Saudi Arabia from the Arab coalition has not harmed the policy of Arab unity, it is impossible to expect that diplomacy of this kind can stop the clock or change the spirit of the Arab revolution. Historical evolutions, such as the movement for the Arab emancipation, all have their laws of development, their crises and successes, and they also have their logic, which the initiators of the „vacuum“ theory are not capable of understanding. The failure of the colonial methods has given them wrong ideas, and since they do not understand the spirit of the Middle East, their policy in that area is bound to cause blunders which lead to a desire for revenge. How things will develop in the Middle East in the future no one can predict, but one thing is certain: the Arab countries, in order to overcome their poverty and backwardness, and to consolidate their independence must, sooner or later, revive the policy of mutual aid. They will be forced to do so by their own position, by their similar economic circumstances, and by the dangers to which they are all exposed.

N. Dubravčić

Bourges Maunoury and Problems of France

THE ministerial crisis in France was solved in a relatively short time: after several prominent politicians tried to form a government and failed, Bourges Maunoury succeeded, and his investiture was soon approved by the Assembly.

The uninitiated may think that this speedy solution was a proof of strength. But owing to the situation in which France has been ever since her Indo-China adventure, this quick solution must rather be ascribed to weaknesses which have deep roots in the political life and social structure of the Fourth Republic. The government was formed, it is true, and France received her twenty-third prime minister since the war, but the causes of the crisis were not done away with; on the contrary they were still further intensified. The new premier and the new government have a smaller majority in the Assembly than any of their predecessors. Their length of service, therefore, may not prove to be very long.

This is the outward semblance of a political solution — which it is not — and the lack of any new element in French policy reveals that the new cabinet will pursue the same old policy and uphold the same wrong conceptions on the most delicate questions: foreign policy and the Algerian problem. Christian Pineau and Robert Lacoste retain their depart-

ments, making it thus clear that Bourges Maunoury will follow the path which led his predecessors into a blind alley. The conclusion is that governments may change, but the policy remains the same and therefore must be correct.

One may possibly suppose that the retention of old officials was far from the personal wish of the new Premier, and that the composition of his cabinet was dictated by party politics in the Assembly, but the fact is that the conditions which led to the formation of the new cabinet were at the same time the pay for it, which, as it is generally believed, will not be particularly long.

If the Mollet government had to thank the parties of the right (under post-war conditions) long term of office, it was nonetheless a government of the left-wing parties. The government of Bourges Maunoury, a radical who has not become a greater leftist because of his shift from Mauds-France towards the Socialists — which is somewhat paradoxical but more or less in accord with the conceptions of both sides, is a shift towards the right. This especially illustrates the government's attitude towards the urgent problems of the country, and it may agree to a compromise with the right parties on the very delicate problem of taxes.

It is not surprising that the Mollet government fell and that of Bourges Maunoury assumed office in the process of wrestling with the economic problems of the country. For many reasons, France is today in a very difficult economic situation: the Suez expedition, the long lasting Algerian crisis, inadequate economic plans, and unsettled financial questions, have emptied the State treasury, and new sources of revenue have been found. But it would be unrealistic to consider that these are essential problems, upon which the fate of cabinets depend. These problems are the result of conceptions which conflict with the direct interests of France in other fields. The Suez canal was one of the first inevitable and loss to the French economy, and the war in Algeria is swallowing a large part of the national income. It is certain, therefore, that definite political measures will be necessary to improve economic conditions in the country. The abandoning of the boycott of the Suez canal was one of the first inevitable steps. But France's financial recovery cannot be ensured without finding an acceptable solution of the problem of Algeria, regardless of the revenues from possible new taxes. The entrance of Bourges Maunoury into the Assembly recently was greeted by complaints from deputies because his Minister of Finance had asked for an increase in taxes. The present the deputies did not do much to support the right to demand new taxes when he presented his cabinet for approval. The general impression was that after this statement the deputies did not do much to support the government's policy. But in spite of this, the Assembly gave a vote of confidence to the cabinet, and the first new taxes will come to the empty State treasury. The capitalists will be forced to set aside a little more of their profit for taxes; this in turn will cause increases in prices and decreases in imports, and the ordinary Frenchman will have to tighten his belt a little more.

During this first test the government was not overthrown, not because the deputies were

satisfied with its financial plan, but because it is at present impossible to form a cabinet which would better suit those groups upon which the political compositions of cabinets depend. It may be said, however, that this time Bourges Maunoury was saved by the Catholics and a section of the Independents.

The questions remains open whether Bourges Maunoury, confronted with the extraordinary difficult conditions in the country, will be able to fulfil his promises — promises which in view of the financial situation and other important problems (like such as Algeria for instance) could not, even in fully implemented, constitute a real and effective solution to the crisis.

O. M.

Gomulka in Eastern Germany

POLISH-GERMAN relations have always been the greatest significance in Europe: perhaps because the frontier line between the two great neighbouring nations always constituted one of the most sensitive areas in Europe. If, in the shadow of more important rivalries and political dislocations, Polish-German relations appear at first sight of lesser significance today, this is because of certain outstanding rather than settled questions. Hence the recent meeting between Gomulka and Cyrankiewicz on the one hand and Ulbricht and Grotewohl on the other should not be looked upon in the light of the usual Eastern-European bilateral contact, but singled out as an event of potentially wider significance.

The direct causes which led to the Pankow talks may be classified as ideological-political, territorial-political and economic.

1. The October condemnation of Stalinism and the fixing of new objectives in the building of socialism in Poland, in content and intention objectively surpassed the value of an internal social process, and confronted the public opinion of the whole world with an important historical event in the valley of the Wisla. If the Poles met with the moral support and sympathy of those who understood that their new path was in the interests of both Poland and socialism, the loudest echo of disapproval and misunderstanding came from Eastern Germany. Pankow's disagreement with what happened in Warsaw did not remain platonic but assumed the character of a campaign which, as expressed in the press and especially during the trial of Harich was clearly anti-Polish. Ideological divergences were reflected also in other sectors of inter-

state relations and it turned out that this unpleasant situation could not continue, all the more so as other Eastern European countries have rapidly and easily accepted the results of the October events in Poland.

The statement that every country has the right to use its own forms and methods in the development of socialism — and this was included in the joint party communique — is more in keeping with Gomulka's practice and conceptions and can be adopted as another step in the affirmation of Polish events in October.

2. Almost one half of the Polish territory was taken after the war by the Soviet Union (181,000 square kilometres). It is understandable therefore, why Western areas, bordered by the Oder and the Neisse rivers (104,000 square metres) are a vital compensation for post-war Poland. Western areas constitute one third of the present Polish territory and their economic capacities are the country's main industrial asset: areas rich in coal for coking (zinc, lead, iron, copper, nickel etc) highly industrialized pits and intensely cultivated surfaces. Thanks to the Western areas possibilities for the development of Polish economy have become far greater and more complex, although that country, compared to its pre-war situation lost, all in all, twenty percent of its territory, twenty four per cent of its population, and considerable national assets.

That is why, for Polish policy and consciousness of the Oder and Neisse frontier is a historical fait accompli: all plans for Poland's political, economic and social development, directly or indirectly start from this territorially-political coordinate. It was a foreign-policy factor also in the October events, especially when the attitude to the Warsaw Agreement and the problem of Soviet troops stationed on the Polish territory were being precisely defined.

The dilemmas linked with Oder and Neisse result of another political phenomenon: the existence of two German states which belong to different blocs. While the Poles until recently connected the defining of the Oder and Neisse frontiers only with the USSR support and the official approval of the East German State, now it is felt that they are now taking a more elastic attitude towards Western Germany, which is potentially threatening the territorial status quo in the Oder and Neisse valley. In view of the lessons of history, West German economic expansion, the creation of the Bundeswehr, and certain characteristic political dispositions on the Rhein banks, German unification would bring new anxieties to the Poles. Perhaps it is im-

possible in the present world constellation, but it never ceases being one of the potential changes of the future. Support of the Democratic Republic of Germany is, therefore, a first class political task for the Poles, but the establishment of normal relations with Western Germany, viewed in this light, is also a definite political need.

Condemning the spirit of revenge which is raising its head in Western Germany, Gomulka clearly indicated that Poland is prepared to establish certain contacts with Bonn. This may be a confirmation that a more realistic view of the German problem has been adopted by a country which is in a delicate and peculiar situation in relation to it. There are signs that Bonn, on its side, will take some initiative in that direction as it can only reap benefit from the establishment of relations with Poland.

3. The complementary nature of the East German and Polish economies surpasses that which is usual. It is the consequence of the specific situation in which both countries found themselves after the war.

In 1936 the share of presentday Eastern Germany in the industrial production of Germany averaged 26 per cent. Between the present separate parts of Germany there was a sharp division of labour. Today's Eastern Germany at that time "imported" from present Western Germany coke, pig iron, hard coal etc, and "exported" certain textile products, brown coal, azote fertilizers, textile machines etc. Her industry was preponderately processing in character, and she received raw materials, semi-manufactures and heavy equipment from the Western areas.

In the current economic orientation of Eastern Germany Poland has become an important partner, primarily because of the drastic need for importing highly caloric coal, especially coke, which is certainly Poland's most important export product. On their side, the Poles are greatly interested in the import of many wide consumer articles as, in their post-war orientation, they decided to develop primarily the coal industry, metallurgy and machine building.

When Gomulka declared that the talks in Pankow were "useful and concrete", this also referred, in many respects, to economic arrangements which were made and which should lead to wider exchanges between the two countries.

This would mean that the main themes and dilemmas which cropped up in the Polish — German talks have been disposed of. Their significance for both sides, and to a certain extent for the rest of the world, is more than evident.

THE PROBLEM OF UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

1. The World and Underdeveloped Countries

Slobodan BRANKOVIĆ

IT was not by chance that the question of underdeveloped countries was treated as a serious world economic and social problem after the Second World War. The profound economic disproportions in world economy became so emphasized in this period that a solution became an urgent matter, and social development in the Second World War contributed greatly to this urgency. The long struggle against fascism had led to social mass movements everywhere, as well as to the awareness of the interdependence of peoples and the necessity for their solidarity. The freedom loving forces of humanity began to represent an ever more significant factor of opposition to imperialism, colonialism, poverty and exploitation. One of the most valuable achievements of these forces was the creation of the United Nations Organization, the chief task of which is to preserve peace in the world, while its other equally important aim is to assist and organize economic development in all particularly underdeveloped areas of the world.

The reason why the solution of the problem of insufficiently developed countries has not yet been tackled seriously lies in the factor which have acted against and opposed all efforts towards their development. One of the most important of these factors was, undoubtedly, the bloc policy which was the main obstruction to every step in the solving of world problems in the post-war period. During the cold war the great powers considered the insufficiently developed areas as their own spheres of influence, as regions to be used for bargaining purposes, while the real problem — economic development was relegated to the background. In addition to this, post-war developments have shown that we must still reckon with strong and persistent activity on the part of those reactionary social groups which tend to revive earlier practices, and once more subject the less developed countries to their unlimited tutelage. These groups have at their disposal extensive material means, and they wield great social influence; they still hold the key positions in economy and state administration, particularly in the dominating capitalist countries. They likewise endeavour to prevent the carrying out of the social reforms which under present conditions are a necessity, both in their own countries and in the less developed territories. All this shows how complex are the conditions under which the problem of the insufficiently developed countries emerges before the contemporary world, and at the same time it explains the reasons why this problem remains unsolved.

We must not disregard the fact that there are in the underdeveloped countries large unexploited natural resources and a potentially great labour force which, under present conditions, have not sufficient opportunities of development. In a considerable number of underdeveloped countries people live in great misery and want — often on land which contains great wealth.

There are people in the world today who are ready to blame the underdeveloped peoples for the existing state of affairs in their areas. But even a superficial study of the development of these areas shows that the causes of their backwardness must be sought elsewhere. For decades and even centuries the interests of the great imperialist powers have been conflicting in the underdeveloped areas, and this necessarily produced unfavourable economic consequences. We could give a series of examples to show that the colonial powers never did anything to encourage industrial develop-

ment in the subjugated territories, and that, on the contrary, they endeavoured to prevent and retard such development. Under their rule the dependent territories had no right to protect their young industries by customs duties or other measures. Supplies of cheap industrial goods from the advanced countries even destroyed certain trades and handicrafts which had flourished in the past centuries. While in the now advanced countries various trades and craftsmen's workshops had been the foundation of industrial development, in the dependent countries such shops and crafts were mercilessly destroyed. People who took the initial steps in the development of industries in these territories, had therefore, first to overcome the competition of countries which were far more advanced.

As a result of all this, the population of the underdeveloped countries was excluded from economic life, or forced to engage in less profitable activities (agriculture and stockbreeding). Industries which depend on skilled labour (transport, mining etc.) employed foreigners, while the natives were mere labourers. Nothing was done to improve the training of the native people, and if to this we add that the population in most of the insufficiently developed countries increased more rapidly than their employment capacity, it may be seen that the consequences were even more detrimental. Naturally, under such conditions nothing could be done to encourage the working habits of the people, to advance their organizational ability and their economic enterprise. The development of these important traits, of which the people in the advanced countries are so proud, was in most of the dependent territories systematically retarded.

In view of the historical circumstances of development, the underdeveloped countries cannot be blamed for their backwardness. The blame must largely be ascribed to those who retarded their development and exploited their wealth, for the advanced countries amassed their own wealth largely through the exploitation of backward areas. The exploitation of the natural resources and cheap labour of the dependent countries and the extra profits in foreign trade were in the past important sources of material wealth for the dominating economic, military and political powers. The wealth of the advanced countries grew as the misery and want of the areas which lagged behind increased.

Relations in the world have now changed. Colonialism is undergoing a serious crisis, while many countries became independent after the Second World War and are now equal members of the international community. In the countries which were once colonial possessions resistance is constantly increasing against every form of human enslavement and exploitation and, at the same time, the people of the advanced countries are becoming aware of the poor living conditions in the less developed areas. The growth of progressive forces in these countries, and their social and political

influence, will certainly be of profound significance in bringing about a constructive and realistic approach to the consideration of their economic development, which is today the most important problem in the world.

In the first post-war years the world public became aware of the disproportions in world economy, and of the low living standards in the less developed countries, which make up two-thirds of the world's population. Credit for this is in the first place due to the United Nations. In 1949 the per capita yearly income was 915 dollars in the highly developed countries, and only 54 dollars in the underdeveloped areas. That year this income was 482 dollars in France, 773 in Britain, 1,453 in the United States, but only 57 in India, 27 in China and 22 in Indonesia. The absolute correctness of these figures may perhaps be questioned, but in any case the difference is too great. The inadequate nourishment and even famine of millions of people in some underdeveloped countries is the most detrimental consequence of their low level of development. Experts say that the minimum daily food consumption by a healthy man should amount to 2,000 calories, but there are countries in which, on the average, the food consumed by people amounts to only 1,400 calories. The average life expectation is over 60 years in the advanced countries, while it is hardly 30 in the backward areas. These facts constitute a condemnation of past practices, and the problem of the underdeveloped countries is therefore the problem of the entire human race.

Although we still encounter the view that assistance to underdeveloped countries is a form of charity, we must not forget that progress in the advanced countries under the uncontrolled action of capitalist laws and colonialism was, to a great extent, made possible by retarding development in other areas. Accordingly, assistance to underdeveloped countries may be considered as a moral obligation of the advanced countries. And they are obliged to fulfil this obligation.

Apart from this obligation of the advanced countries to assist economic development in the insufficiently developed areas, it is essential to grasp all the concrete economic advantages which would be gained by a more rapid development in these areas. The initial steps in this direction might, it is true, temporarily retard development in the advanced countries, but if the solving of the problem is approached thoughtfully and in an rational way, the long-term effect would be of great importance for general progress. There is a practical possibility of achieving the unity of world economy, and full economic development can be ensured only by allowing world economy to function as a harmonious whole.

(To be continued in the next issue)

PERSONALITIES AND POLITICS

Military Bases and Public Opinion

The practice of the great powers of maintaining military bases and troops in the sovereign territories of other states, and the theory of the immaturity of peoples, have the same dialectical relationship as the conception that force is the supreme arbiter in politics and the view that morals and public opinion are abstract categories existing outside politics. This is an old truth, older than the era in which lance and sword were most advanced weapons, in which the policy of domination was just being devised. In our day of jet aircraft and thermonuclear bombs, it is more certain than ever, yet it is ignored and denied more than ever.

Until a year or two ago the Soviet Union maintained the Porkkala base on Finnish territory. This base was not in the least illegal; the two governments had an agreement on the matter, but although Porkkala was intended to serve the interests of the Soviets it can safely be said that it was of greater harm than benefit to them. When the Soviet troops left Porkkala and the Finns felt, for the first time after the war, that they were the only masters in their own home, the basic prerequisite was created for the promotion of what had earlier been endangered: friendship between the peoples of the two countries.

American soldiers came to Formosa to support Chiang Kai Shek and create a military base near China. On that large island in the Pacific they enjoyed the privileges of both guests and hosts, and only the blaze of the people's dissatisfaction dispelled the myth about the friendship and alliance of a great power and the population of an usurped island. The mass revolt of the citizens of Taipei showed that armed guests are not welcome anywhere, not even where their protégé is a personality like Chiang Kai Shek.

The Japanese Premier, Kishi, had had many reasons to go to Washington. The most important of them was made all the more urgent by a seemingly unimportant event — the killing of a Japanese woman. It was not accidental that Kishi clinched his demand for the withdrawal of American troops from Japan by referring the case of Girald, the American sergeant who had killed his countrywoman. The signs showing that the history of Taipei might be repeated are enough for alarm, because Japan is not Formosa, it is ten Formosas and even more.

American troops will be withdrawn from Japan, but Okinawa will continue to be an American base. This means that the truth to which we referred earlier is beginning to be grasped. But the theory of the immaturity of peoples has not yet been fully rejected, and force is still frequently regarded as the supreme arbiter in politics. If Plato was right when he said that the most important quality for a statesman is the ability to weigh facts in solving political matters, then many of the world policy makers should pay more attention to what is called public opinion.

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Germany on Eve of Elections Adenauer or Olenhauer?

Djuka JULIUS

THE WEST German Social-Democrats were the last to enter officially, on June 15, the ring of the pre-election campaign, which throughout the twelve weeks which securing enough seats in the new Bundestag, Day — will be occupied by one of the fiercest post-war political fights in the Federal Republic. Other parties, including Adenauer's Christian Democrats, are already in the throes of a lively election campaign.

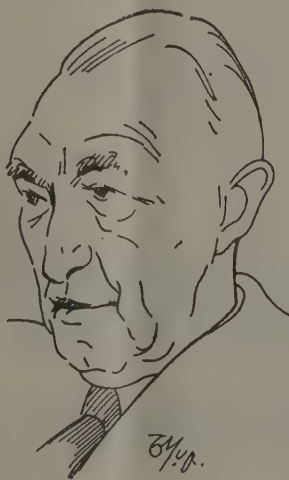
Will Adenauer succeed — relying above all on the results of German prosperity — in securing enough seats in the new Bundestag, and again form a cabinet, either alone or with his traditional allies? Or will there be a great change on the West German political scene — that is, a victory of the Social-Democrats headed by Olenhauer, which would undoubtedly influence the picture of international relations, above all in Europe? This is a question which at the moment obsesses the Germans in the Federal Republic, and others as well. It is a question to which people are already trying to fend an answer.

The only thing one can do — without resorting to mere conjecture — is to analyse the tactics of both sides, to see what Adenauer and Olenhauer are promising in their efforts to attract voters. For the other parties, especially the Liberals, have no prospect of winning the elections, although their role should not be under-estimated. This role might even become decisive under certain conditions, especially of the elections end with the "narrow" victory of one or the other side.

Both parties start, of course, from the present situation in Western Germany. Expressed in telegraphic conciseness it can be characterized thus: economic situation in the country favourable (for practically all classes of the population), full employment — even labour shortage, living standard high, (one of the highest in Europe), all indications that increase of economic activity and prosperity will be continued. Germany is divided and the question of unification (although there are no external signs of any strong pressure in the direction of immediate unification), which still plays an important role, the more so as belief is increasingly crystallizing in the minds of ordinary people that it can hardly be achieved on the basis of Adenauer's course as up to now pursued. Seldom has a question so much agitated the spirit in Western Germany as the recent debate on whether the Bundeswehr should or should not be armed with atomic weapons — a debate from which, it appears, the opposition emerged as a victor. These, seem to be the basic conditions under which the election campaign in West

Germany is evolving and they form the basic themes of discussion.

Strategically the Social-Democrats are in the offensive — which is understandable — and they are trying to win over the positions from the Christian Democrats. Olenhauer's party starts from the assumption that a certain regrouping of forces is under way in West Germany, that Adenauer is losing influence, that people are more tired than ever of the "Atlantic policy" and convinced more than formerly of its sterility — at least as far as the solution of the German question is concerned. The Social Democrats are endeavouring to offer an alternative policy to the West German voter, to interest him and awaken him from the lethargy created by the high living standard, to stimulate and turn to account the new currents in West Germany.



Adenauer

Adenauer, on the other hand, is trying to compromise the Social Democrats and, at the same time, to defend the past policy, above all to demonstrate the old truth that people are unwilling to change their Government when they are well off, and at the same time to adapt himself as much as possible to the new situation and the new currents in the Federal Republic. As a whole, despite tactical attacks, the Christian Democrats are on the defensive.

The most difficult problem for Olenhauer, and the best arguments of Adenauer's is the extremely favourable economic situation in Western Germany. Whoever has visited any

town in the Federal Republic recently must have found that Germans in the West have never lived so well as today. Special, particularly favourable circumstances and a very clever economic policy have resulted in the "German economic miracle", in a high degree of employment and a high living standard. And although it is clear that the lion's share goes to the capitalists, it is nonetheless indubitable that the working class of West Germany has succeeded in securing more profits than ever before in German history. Is it to be wondered at, therefore, that Adenauer insists on prosperity, that he constantly emphasizes it stressing the Government's services, that he asks for the further confidence of the voters in order to continue the policy of economic success and high standards for example, that he is trying with the new law on pensions for example, — to attract the classes which have not favoured him in the past.

The Social Democrats it very difficult to refute this argument. They cannot seriously criticise Adenauer's or rather Erhard's economic policy, they cannot deny its success. This is a serious handicap for them. Practically speaking, they have no alternative economic policy. That is why their slogans all boil down to — "it might be done better", and particularly to the insistence, which is not unreasonable, that the working class should participate much more than formerly in the sharing of national profits, that too large a share is still going into the pockets of the capitalists. And although these are rather attractive slogans, the observers — even the Social Democrats themselves — agree in one thing: in internal matters Adenauer has the advantage there is no doubt about that. Hence it is assumed that the attack on especially in view of the fact that essential the Government will not be on this level, differences between Olenhauer and Adenauer on questions of economic policy are non-existent. All these are nuances, and in the era of rise and prosperity the voter has not a very sensitive ear for them.

The Social Democrats, therefore, will make their attack on the Government policy on another sector of the political battlefield — first of all, on Adenauer foreign policy, and then by means of the further extension and freshening of the atomic debate.

Starting from the estimation that the last months have shown that most Germans have become sceptical towards Adenauer's foreign policy, that they believe it does not contribute to the unification of the country and that it complicates and slows down the solution of the German problem, the Social Democrats accuse Adenauer of the following: of not only hindering the unification of Germany, but even aggravating the international situation, and acting against German interests by his rigid bloc policy; of hampering both problems by his attitude toward's the atomic arming of the Bundeswehr and the linking of the disarmament problem with the solution of the question of German unification; of a blind devotion to the Atlantic Pact, which reduces the manoeuvring space of German diplomatic action etc. Hence the Social Democrats ask that voters should abandon Adenauer and entrust them with the helm of the ship of state.

In exchange for Adenauer's foreign policy they demand that Bonn, on its part, should aid efforts in the direction of disarmament and propose an agreement between the four great powers on the prohibition of stationary atomic arms on German territory; that present pacts and bloc organizations in Europe should be replaced by a general European system of security, of which a United Germany, should be a full member, and which would be guaranteed by the USA and USSR; that German diplomacy should be more elastic and contribute as much as possible to the general easing of the tension, as no agreement could be reached on Germany on the basis of Adenauer's policy; that until the creation of such a European system (that is until the unification of Germany) the Paris agreements should remain in force, but that instead of compulsory military service, which should be abolished, the ranks of the Bundeswehr should be filled by volunteers. The Social Democrats are therefore endeavouring to combine discontent with the Atlantic policy (which, in their opinion, is growing), resistance to military service (which is still quite strong although all agree that most Germans have already reconciled themselves to it), and the wish for unification — all this by proposing a new realistic, course for the foreign policy of Bonn, provided they are victors at the September elections.

Of course, Adenauer is not sitting with folded hands. On the contrary, the old politician, very experienced and very popular, as

everybody admits, is parrying the attacks of the Olenhauer party with counter-attacks and skilful moves (e.g. in the atomic debate). He knows that nothing succeeds like success. Hence he asserts that it was just the policy of strength which led to the relaxation of tension, and that "this is the only way to cope with the Russians", while he is prepared to support every effort in the direction of appeasement, disarmament and the unification of Germany. Actually it is a public secret in Bonn that Adenauer — whether temporarily or lastingly nobody knows — radically changed his course on the occasion of his recent visit to Washington, partly under pressure of the impending German election, and partly at the wish of the Americans, who, it seems, are seriously interested at least in an initial success for disarmament.

He no longer demands, as previously, that the German problem should be solved before the disarmament problem. On the contrary, he now advocates initial successes in the matter of disarmament, and only after that asks for a meeting of Foreign Ministers of the four great powers on the question of German unification. He returned from Washington with the slogan that he had brought, as an election gift, a new effort in the direction of disarmament and German unification, and that he was doing all he could to achieve both. Many people tend to consider that with this move Adenauer has wrenched the election flag from the Social Democrats, or at least considerably weakened the enemy's chances. Who

knows? In the meantime, Adenauer's party is repeating its old allegations — that Olenhauer's followers are neutralists, that — being Socialists — they are close to Communists, that is, they are close to the regime in Eastern Germany, that they wish to leave Western Germany to the mercy of the Russians, that they are against friendship with the West and so on — all in line with attempts to compromise the Social Democrats.

How this political battle will end, it is difficult to predict. For the time being, observers are giving odds in favour of Adenauer, although they admit that Social Democrats are on the rise and that they will certainly win more places in the Bundestag than they had before. Still, they do not believe in the victory of the Social Democrats. But anything may happen by September 15. One should not forget that the Social Democrats will exert all their efforts — they fear a new four-year period in opposition, after having been there for a full eight years, they fear that this might lead to serious perturbations in the party and to its weakening. Perhaps a Social Democratic — Liberal coalition is in the offing?

The Cristian Democrats believe in Adenauer, in his popularity, skill, elasticity and experience, they believe that prosperity will have the final word, and that they could set up a new Government in the autumn, in coalition with their allies.

September alone will provide an answer to this question.

YUGOSLAVIA TODAY

LONG TERM INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Marijan CVETKOVIĆ

SECRETARY FOR INDUSTRY IN THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL



A Resolution on long term industrial development was brought at the latest session of the Federal People's Assembly. The aim of the Resolution is to lay down the basic directives and outlines of industrial development which would provide the basis for the draft of a year economic development plan in which priority would be assigned to industry and agriculture.

The Resolution begins with an analysis of the level of industrial development reached, comparison of the results accomplished during the ten year period of industrialization and the state of industrial production before the war.

It is noted in the Resolution that great progress has been made and significant results achieved in the field of industry. Thus the production index number rose to 266 points in 1956 (1939 = 100).

Output of electric power rose fourfold as compared to the prewar level, crude steel threefold, aluminium over seven fold, sulphuric acid 4.2 fold, agricultural tools and implements over eightfold, artificial fertilizer over 3.5 fold etc. Production of a series of articles which were not produced in prewar Yugoslavia was likewise begun.

The most spectacular results with regard to the increase of production and exports, broadening of assortment, improvement of quality and promotion of productivity were achieved in the 1952-1957 period which marked the strengthening of workers management, decentralization in the administration of economy, and the freer play of economic laws various forms of administrative management in the economy having been abolished.

It is further noted in the Resolution that the results accomplished could have been still more favourable were it not for certain disparities which are fundamentally conditioned by the economic and political position of the country and which also called forth some subjective weaknesses which impeded the rapid development of industry. The most conspicuous disparities consist in the lagging of the power industry behind the rate of over — all economic development, the shortfall of the development of raw materials resources (and consequent inadequate utilization of the processing capacities available), and the lagging behind in the training of new skilled personnel. Some other outstanding problems of the economic system also, only to a lesser extent proved an obstacle to the more rapid development of industry. In spite of this however, the level of industrial development achieved so far has brought about a potential technical basis for the further development of the economy as a whole and a more rapid industrialization of the country.

In view of the fact that there are substantial reserves in the existing capacities which under favourable conditions may ensure a 30 per cent production increase, as well as the existence of reserves vouchsafed by labour productivity, co-operation and the reduction of production costs, the outlines of further industrial development stipulate the utilization of the existing reserves as the prime task with regard to the increase of labour productivity. In this sense, all future investments in fixed capital will only be justified if the existing capacities are no longer capable of ensuring the volume of production required.

With a view to the full activation of the funds already invested and the fuller utilization of the capacities available it is also necessary to ensure the funds for the reconstruction of the existing industry and completion of projects initiated. The necessary conditions should likewise be created for the

development of small industrial enterprises, especially the local industry which would rely on the local raw materials resources, as well as little specialized enterprises which would cooperate with the big factories.

The education and training of new skilled cadres by means of the expansion of the existing technical schools, as well as the establishment of special institutions and courses is also a fundamental pre-condition for a more rapid economic development. The training of skilled personnel should be treated as an integral part of industrial investment, so that the long term plan will ensure the necessary funds for this purpose.

Special attention will be devoted to the development of various forms of social management and the creation of economic communities in which the enterprises could concentrate production and funds and more easily resolve the various existing problems.

The organization of scientific research work is another significant factor in the development of production and the further progress of industry.

The analysis of natural resources has shown that regenerative raw materials, hydroenergy, agricultural and forest raw materials, as well as the products of the sea, coal, copper, aluminium and some non-metals are available in large quantities. Besides there also substantial deposits of lead, zinc, iron, petroleum etc.

Apart from this one should also bear in mind the possibilities afforded by these raw materials by means of chemical processing to the development of the over all raw materials basis.

The exploitation of this raw materials basis should determine the course of future Yugoslav industrial development.

It is foreseen that industrial production will rise by 10–12 per cent annually during the next five or six years.

In accordance with the Yugoslav policy of economic development industry should ensure the development of agriculture foreseen in the coming period, ensure adequate power supplies to economy, ensure the further development of transport, building and construction, improve the balance of payments of the country, increase production for individual and general consumption thus creating the necessary conditions for the improvement of the standard of living.

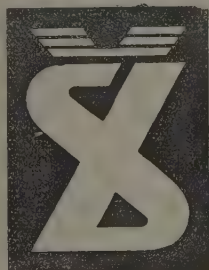
In this connection investments should primarily be concentrated on the development of the power base, the further expansion of the capacities engaged in the production of materials for reproduction and individual consumer goods. With a view to improving the balance of payments it is necessary to invest in those capacities which will enable the increase of exports thus integrating the Yugoslav economy in international trade. Those capacities will be built which contribute to the increase of farm production, transport, building and construction.

The implementation of these objectives will require an average 160–180 billion dinars gross investments in industry every year.

Industrial development should be resolutely promoted according to the following conceptions:

The course should be adopted towards the increased exploitation of hydroenergy, the completion and construction of new hydroelectric stations. Thermal power plants should be fuelled by waste coal and be built in the vicinity of coal mines. The better linking up of the power sources with the transmission and distributor system will enable the more rational use of electric power.

Coal production should be promoted especially in the main consumer centres. The fresh exploration and prospecting schemes should notably contribute to the increase of crude petroleum production and enable the better exploitation of



INTERNATIONAL BELGRADE FAIR

On August 23, exactly 20 years after the inauguration of the First International Fair of Beograd, the new Beograd fairground will be opened with the International Exhibition of Technics and Technical Realisations. From Au-

gust 23 to September 2, 1957 this exhibition will represent a further contribution to the international collaboration, the time by exchange of experiences within the scope of technical sciences of which Beograd is becoming an important technical centre more and more.

The new Beograd fairground disposes of capacities, which can entirely satisfy all the exhibitors, business men and visitors. Having a surface of 300,000 sq.m. in totals from which 84,000 sq.m. are adapted for the needs of the exhibitors and with about 45,000 sq.m. under halls, the Beograd fairground represents a most up-to-date constructional achievement, with its buildings which can be placed among the most modern in the World.

The international agreement and collaboration are, besides the explicit commercial feature, the principal slogans of the International Fair of Beograd — in fact, a shop-window both towards the East and the West.

the natural gas reserves available. The substantial growth of petroleum consumption requires appropriate reconstructions which will expand the capacity of the existing oil refineries.

It is necessary to reduce the deficiency in steel products, increase production of non-ferrous metals especially copper and aluminium for the purpose of improving the balance of payments, increase the production of artificial fertilizer and chemical agents for crop protection, begin the production of petrochemical products, increase output of finished products in the timber processing industry, and raise production of cardboard packing materials and paper in the materials for reproduction sector.

In the building materials sector one should primarily increase production and broaden the assortment of materials which will enable the introduction of more up to date and cheaper building methods, such as hollow bricks, pre-fabricated structural parts etc.

In the production of equipment investments should be made with a view to increasing rolling stock, broadening the assortment, introducing modern structures, expanding coopera-

tion with foreign and Yugoslav enterprises and the military industry. It is particularly necessary to increase the production of agricultural machines, transport equipment and ships. It is likewise indispensable to promote the sales of equipment abroad.

Production of individual consumer goods is slated for a sizeable increase which will primarily be brought about by the full utilization of the capacities available, and when economically justified the construction of new capacities. Investments will therefore primarily be required in spinning mills, weaving mills, the leather and shoe industry, pharmaceutical industry, type factories, sugar refineries, etc.

The Resolution also calls attention to the need for the elaboration of the economic system thus affording a greater incentive to collectives and individuals in the struggle for increased productivity, thrift and the more rational utilization of the capacities available. Last, the Resolution stresses the need for the most rational utilization of investment funds and their channelling towards the most profitable branches of production.

THE FUTURE OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

ing. Milun IVANOVIĆ

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A new turn in the development of post-war Yugoslav agriculture took place in 1953, both in solving social relations in the rural areas, and in ensuring a material basis for a quicker and more effective increase in production. When it was seen that the result of the attempt to solve the problem of agricultural development by setting up the existing kind of peasant work-cooperatives was to decrease output and lessen the interest of the farmers in their work, the competent authorities began to seek new ways and means to improve production and to change relations in the rural areas. Naturally, no one expected that the reorganization of work cooperatives would alone solve the problem. Following this reorganization, therefore, a law was passed restricting the private holdings to ten hectares of arable land (which is the family minimum), while general agricultural cooperatives were re-formed organizations of agricultural producers. Furthermore, since 1950 the sums invested in agriculture have been increased from year to year, and wide measures have been undertaken to overcome agricultural backwardness.

New Ways of Agricultural Development

At the last meeting of the Federal People's Assembly, at which the future of agricultural development was considered, a resolution was passed determining the ways and directives of agricultural development for an extended period. Our social and economic development requires rapid increases in agricultural production and changes in social relations in the rural areas in order to ensure the successful development both of the system of social self-government and of the productive forces. Accordingly, the problem of agricultural development and changes in social relations in the rural areas must be considered as a single process in social and economic conditions of this country. Unsatisfactory agricultural production is not peculiar to the present situation. An analysis of agricultural development in this country in recent decades shows that formerly too, it progressed very slowly. The production of grain and vegetables expanded more rapidly, but only because the consumption of the growing agrarian population was increasing, while the increase in livestock production was very slow indeed. Grain production accounted for a very high percentage of the agricultural output. This was

due to the distribution of population and to the structure of consumption by the farming families themselves. Owing to frequent wars made to improve agriculture, and some smaller farms were not in conditions were not favourable for the development of agriculture either. Peasant holdings were divided and re-divided; no efforts were made to improve agriculture, and some smaller farms were not capable of ensuring even simple reproduction. For these reasons, the production forces in agriculture have remained at a very low level, so that the wealthy natural resources for the most varied agricultural production could be exploited, though scientific and technical achievements cannot be used to offset the adverse effects of floods, drought, storms and so on. Fluctuations in agricultural production are, therefore, considerable from year to year, and success in production still depends on natural conditions and not conscious human effort.

From the end of the last war to the recent meeting of the Federal People's Assembly we were in no position to undertake any large scale and essential measures to promote agricultural production. The industrialization of the country was then our primary task. Since this industrialization had to be financed exclusively from our own resources, we could not set aside any greater funds for investment in agriculture. Under the first five year plan, 16% of the total investments were to be allotted to agriculture, but, in fact, only 7% of these funds were so invested. The foreign political situation did not allow us to go on developing industry and agriculture at an even pace, and we had to give priority to industry. This unequal development in industry and agriculture has given rise to many problems. The population is increasing rapidly, particularly in the urban areas. And the structure of foodstuff consumption has changed considerably. In the rural areas the consumption of cereals is 4/5 wheat and 1/5 maize, while before the war it was the other way round. Accordingly, the demand for foodstuffs is rising quickly, while the supplies of agricultural raw materials for industry are lagging behind. Our country, once a significant exporter of agricultural products, has become a large importer of foodstuff. Taken as a whole the imports of foodstuffs are larger than the exports, and this causes definite difficulties in our balance of payments. Finally, agriculture at the present level of development does not enable 60% of the

country's inhabitants to consume greater quantities of industrial goods, so that this too checks further industrial expansion.

Because of all this, we must do all we can to eliminate the disproportion between our general economic development and our development in agriculture.

Increased Investments

In this respect the decision of the Federal People's Assembly to provide greater funds for investment in agriculture is most important. Earlier investments, although greater than at any time before the war, were not large enough to ensure a rapid expansion of production. In the last few years investments in agriculture have been increasing annually. It is expected that this year they will be about 40% greater than last year. And in a few years' time the present volume of investments in agriculture will be more than doubled, and the raising of funds for investment in agriculture will no longer be a problem. The problem at present is to render agricultural organizations and producers capable of using the investment funds profitably.

In addition to the sums provided for direct investment in agriculture, considerable funds will also be invested in agricultural machines and implements, artificial fertilizers, crop and livestock protective chemicals and other industrial products needed in agriculture. In addition to the domestic production of investment and reproduction material, considerable quantities of machines, fertilizers, and other necessities will be imported from abroad. Industries processing agricultural products will be expanded; the number of cold-storages increased, and a network of servicing workshops established. In short, the methods used in agricultural production and in the processing of agricultural products are to be fundamentally changed. This means that we shall have to achieve in agriculture what we have already achieved in industry, i.e. to extricate agricultural production from its present backwardness. Although we are aware that we are not strong enough economically to equalize our agricultural production with that in advanced countries in five to ten years, we shall in this period none the less strengthen the technical basis of agriculture and develop social organizations which will later promote production more effectively. No decisive measures for the development of agricultural production would be possible if we had not developed different industries in the post-war period. And a further expansion of industry will make it possible to go on improving agricultural production still further.

Under the programme of agricultural development large scale drainage and irrigation work is to be undertaken. The number of tractors in agriculture is to be greatly increased, just as is the use of artificial fertilizers. The production of seed and selected breeds of livestock will be expanded to satisfy the needs of the market. Furthermore, the development of agricultural services is another important task under the general plan of agricultural development. As can be seen from this, the chief aim is to expand the technical basis of agriculture and eliminate the causes of unprofitable cultivation. Since the construction of industries and the changes in the structure of the population have increased the demand for agricultural products, it is obvious that the producers have now a greater economic interest in expanded production.

Social Relations in Rural Areas

Under our social and economic conditions, the problem of expanding the technical basis of agriculture and its production cannot be tackled without paying due attention to social relations in the rural areas. This is of decisive importance for our country. Seeing that about 60% of the total population is still engaged in agriculture, it is clear that social relations in the rural areas must be given great attention. The limiting of private holdings to ten hectares of arable land, the selling of large agricultural machines only to socialist farms and social organizations, the taxing of hired labour and similar measures have so far been component parts of a policy which is designed to restrict the exploitation of man and to decrease the social differences in the rural areas as much as possible. The fact is that the present private holding has been reduced to the family minimum, and that there are no permanent hired labourers on private farms.

The question of whom we are to rely on in expanding agricultural production is of great importance. Experience gained so far shows that the small private farmer is not capable of ensuring constant progress in agricultural development. Even if this proved pos-

sible, such a path of development would soon conflict with the entire mechanism of social selfgovernment in economy. In countries with different social relations, too, the small private farm is a check to the implementation of contemporary methods of cultivation.

On the other hand, several years ago we tried to settle the problem of agricultural development by forming peasant work-cooperatives. In our conditions, these cooperatives, with their unfavourable internal relations, led to decreases in agricultural production and lessened the interest of producers in their work. It is clear that no solution that discourages producers can be accepted, nor can it ensure progress.

Cooperation in Agriculture

As before, the basic policy of the Federal People's Assembly is now also seeking to socialize the process of agricultural production through socialist cooperation of private farmers and social organizations. Great attention is being paid to the strengthening of large socialist farms. Accordingly, without expropriating land from private owners, production is being gradually socialized through the use of socially owned machinery for cultivation and for the processing of products. The use of these machines and the implementation of modern methods of cultivation increase yields in agriculture. This means that the income of the private farmer will depend more on his use of cooperative machinery than on his ownership of land. If, at the present level of production, his ownership of land is important for him because it ensures his existence, this ownership will not be so great a source of his income in the future, and he himself will seek to erase the boundaries between private fields. At present it is important for us to use communal means of production to socialize production on the basis of the voluntary cooperation of private farmers without any coercion. It has been shown that the farmers accept such cooperation because it increases their income.

The Role of the Agricultural Cooperatives

Apart from the development of large socialist farms, therefore, attention is chiefly paid to the development of general agricultural cooperatives as basic economic organizations in the rural areas. The task of these cooperatives is to establish various kinds of cooperation with private farmers and so to change gradually the methods of production and social relations in agriculture, thus strengthening their own position. With their means of production, the general agricultural cooperatives will attract private farmers, because they have at their disposal the machinery and equipment by which agricultural production can be effectively increased. The practice of a number of cooperatives has already shown this path of development to be useful. Accordingly, we are no longer in the experimental stage in this field; what is now necessary is to supply the cooperatives with machines and equipment. And this is precisely what the general plan of agricultural development provides for. Many problems concerning the socialist cooperation of private farmers and cooperatives have already been solved, and there is no reason why we should not expand this cooperation as fully as possible. We must bear in mind, however, that there is no fixed pattern for this cooperation; every individual cooperative will have to adapt its work to the conditions prevailing in its area, and to the extent of the farmer's readiness to cooperate in the technical and economic field. Cooperation between private farmers and cooperatives must be conform with the endeavours of productive forces, as well as with the efforts of the farmers to increase their income and so improve their living conditions. As practice has already shown, the private farmers are ready to accept such cooperation if the cooperatives are well supplied and if their business is conducted properly and profitably.

General agricultural cooperatives, with their technical services, act as organizers of production on private farms, as buyers of agricultural products, credit organizations and saving banks. In addition to this, the cooperatives maintain various technical services; they assist the farmers in the protection of crops and livestock, insure harvests, encourage the implementation of various measures for the improvement of production and so on. In short, the cooperatives are basic organizations designed to introduce social and technical changes in agriculture, to change the way of life in the rural areas.

Agricultural services — research institutes, training centres and workshops, must all play an important role in the develop-

ment of agriculture. The implementation of contemporary methods of cultivation requires trained personnel. It is, therefore, necessary to train men to handle modern machines and equipment.

Economic Instruments

In addition to work on the development of socialist production in agriculture, we must devise economic instruments which will enable agricultural development to progress in the desired direction. In this field, the provision of credit for agriculture — for socialist farms and cooperatives, as well as for private farmers through the cooperatives — is an important step forward. Furthermore, the cooperative saving banks will be expanded and a special agricultural bank established.

Similarly, the taxation policy is an important factor in agricultural development. On the basis of an earlier decision, certain investments which improve production have been freed from taxes. Likewise, a system of agricultural insurance services, which are now poorly developed, will be expanded in the near future. Profits earned by these services, as well as a fixed percentage of taxes, will be used to promote production.

The market and the prices of agricultural products are not stable enough, although the general development of the economy has placed agriculture in a very favourable situation. Efforts are, therefore, being made to improve the technical equipment in agriculture so as to ensure the stability of price and to bring into line the relation of prices on the agricultural market. This will be fully achieved, however, only when production is increased.

According to present estimations, the proposed investment, organizational measures and technical services, with the assistance of the responsible factors and political bodies, should make it possible to increase agricultural production by 30% in the next five years. The experience of the agricultural organizations which have undertaken similar measures shows that even greater results can be achieved. But since this is a large scale movement, the state requires the mobilization of all forces.

Experience gained so far in economic development, particularly in industry, has shown that by persistent work we have succeeded in overcoming difficulties and in achieving good results. There is no reason why we should not be able to do the same in agriculture.



Belgrade Fair of Engineering and Technical Achievements

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THE Belgrade Fair of Engineering and Technical Achievements will be opened on August 23. By the beginning of July, important home enterprises and a large number of foreign firms had announced their intention of taking part in this manifestation, and although large, the exhibition space at the disposal of the Fair is inadequate to meet all requirements. This great interest in the first exhibition to be organized on the new Fair premises, testifies to the great importance which is attached to the Belgrade Fair in Yugoslavia's economic life and particularly in the international goods exchanges. At first sight it may appear strange that a fair which is only just about to open, should assume such great proportions and significance. But an explanation of the phenomenon is to be found in the fact that such a fair has in fact been a long felt want in the economic life of the country. For some time a Belgrade Fair has been a pressing need, but numerous difficulties hindered its materialization.

Trade exhibitions in Yugoslavia date from 1914, when the first World War interrupted this activity. Numerous economic difficulties had to be overcome between the First and Second World Wars, and it was only in 1937 that new fair grounds were opened for general economic needs. This first exhibition attracted about 250,000 visitors and a large number of exhibitors from various countries. The 1938 Autumn Fair drew 910 exhibitors, 671 of whom were from abroad. But the Fair activities were again interrupted, this time by the Second World War. After the war and its devastation, what remained of the fair ground and its installations were used for other purposes, and this prevented for some time the resumption of the exhibitions. In order to revive the Belgrade Fair,

it was necessary to build new premises and make a considerable outlay. A full twelve years elapsed, during which time Yugoslav economy had first to heal the heavy wounds of war devastation and then to solve much more urgent tasks, before it was possible to appropriate substantial means for the construction of the New Fair.

The situation of Belgrade, as capital of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, located at the confluence of the Sava and Danube rivers (the latter and important international waterway) — a city built on the junction of communications which link northern and western Europe with the Near East; the development of industry and particularly development of foreign trade, the bulk of which devolves on Belgrade; and many other factors have been urgently demanding the building of exhibition projects needed for the revival of the Belgrade Fair, and after several unsuccessful attempts preparations were finally started for carrying out of the new programme towards the end of 1953. After four years of work all difficulties were overcome — difficulties both of a financial and a technical nature — and the new Belgrade Fair buildings were erected. It stands on the right bank of the Sava, practically in the centre of the city, and is linked with waterways, railway and road communications. The new Fair covers an area of about 44.00 sq. m., the semi-open exhibition area totals 4.000 sq. m., to which may be added a large surface of open-air exhibition space.

THE FAIR BUILDINGS

The construction itself of the Belgrade Fair is a high achievement in the field of civil engineering. Very beautiful,

functionally well designed buildings of reinforced and pre-stressed concrete — such as are rarely seen in this materials — have been erected in the space between the Sava river and the railway over which international trains pass several times a day. The largest exhibition hall, taking up a space of about 10,000 m², is a circular building 106 metres in diameter. The dome rests on eight peripherally erected pillars so that the entire interior of this building is in full view of the visitor. The floor surfaces and galleries and the movable platforms provide endless and varied possibilities for the use of the building.

The remaining Fair buildings are no less interesting constructionally. Hall III, for example, has a concrete roof 9 m thick, which covers an area of 350 m². Its dome, too, rests on pillars only in its peripheral parts so that a completely free view of the whole interior is available.

The situation of the Fair, almost in the centre of the city and to the river bank called for building design such as would not only answer the needs of the Fair exhibitions, but also serve for various cultural, sport and other activities. This extremely complex task was successfully solved by Yugoslav architects and constructors.

EXHIBITION OF ENGINEERING AND TECHNICAL ACHIEVEMENTS

The Belgrade Fair will be a specialized economic exhibition aimed at covering the entire sphere of technics and technical achievements.

This character was given to the Belgrade Fair because the aim was to make adequate use of it the current efforts of the country, in the development of economy, by importing modern equipment for the further development of Yugoslav enterprises and by organizing cooperation in the technical field. At the same time the Fair will present those products of Yugoslav industry which are suitable for export.

The requirements and export of equipment are on the increase, although economic and capital investment policy has changed during the last few years from preponderantly basic industry investments towards quicker development of agriculture and the processing industry. The Belgrade Fair of Engineering will provide Yugoslav enterprises with a broad view of other countries' achievements and an opportunity to choose the best equipment for their reconstruction and the further raising of production. This Fair will, therefore, provide foreign producers with the opportunity of coming in touch with our enterprises and finding a market for their manufactures.

The economic system has provided possibilities for the creation of considerable means in the independent funds of enterprises, municipalities and districts, in addition to the general Yugoslav investment fund. To this should be added considerable foreign exchange means, all of which opens up wide opportunities for the purchase of equipment in foreign

countries, and hence very favourable prospects for the transaction of business at the Fair, whose purpose, however, will not be confined to offering our enterprises an opportunity of purchasing goods.

During twelve years of post-war development, Yugoslav industry has been enriched by a whole series of new plants for machine construction, metal-processing and other branches of industry. It has mastered new products in the industries of tool machines, rail and road vehicles, as well as floating vessels, in the processing of non-ferrous metals, the production of machines, the radio industry etc. Thus Yugoslav industry has been able to export numerous products to those countries which need them. So the Belgrade Fair will be a place where foreign buyers will have a view of the whole technical production of Yugoslav industry and will enable them to establish contacts and make purchases under the most favourable conditions.

The productive possibilities of Yugoslav industry have not yet been adequately exploited. In order to make the fullest possible use of the new production and master it as soon as possible, Yugoslav industry needs cooperation with foreign enterprises through purchasing licenses and engineering as through the joint production of equipment for the domestic and foreign markets. In this field too, the Belgrade Fair of Engineering will help by being a place of contact and understanding between Yugoslav and foreign economic organizations, for the cooperation, joint production and harmonious inclusion of our industry in the international distribution of labour.

The geographical position of Belgrade at the crossroads between East and West, the political non-bloc situation of Yugoslavia in international life at a time when there is a wish to shatter the strong artificial division of the world market into isolated bloc areas — a wish which is strengthening in economic field also — all this provides an ideal opportunity for developing contacts between the economies of Western and Eastern countries and for doing away with unnatural and harmful frontiers in economic life. In this way the Belgrade Fair, within its own limits, and in keeping with the general Yugoslav policy, should be an important factor in international cooperation and the policy of peace.

The Belgrade Fair will also stimulate the further development of tourism. Yugoslavia is a country with beautiful natural scenery, with numerous monuments of history and culture, with rich and varied folklore, with many original aspects of social and political life, all of which attract tourists and will enable visitors to get better acquainted, not only with the economic possibilities and interests of the country, but also with all other aspects of its life.

Briefly, the Belgrade Fair will contribute to the whole of Yugoslav economic and industrial development; it will intensify imports and export and contribute to cooperation with other countries, in the first place in the economic field; it will help towards mutual understanding, and with better acquaintance and cooperation. The entire activity of the Belgrade Fair will be, not only an instrument of the economy of Yugoslavia, but also an instrument of her policy of peace and cooperation among states and nations.

— TO OUR READERS —

THE NEXT ISSUE OF THE „REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS“ WILL COME OFF THE PRESSAS DOUBLE ISSUE ON THE 1ST OF AUGUST

Chronology of Events

June — 17 Marijan Cvetković, Secretary for Industry of the Federal Executive Council, submitted a report on the development of industry at the meeting of the Federal People's Assembly. Ivan Maček, a member of the Federal Executive Council, spoke of the development of construction.

June 18 — The People's Assembly passed a resolution calling for the halting of nuclear test explosions to the UN Sub-Committee for Disarmament in London.

June 18 — The Federal People's Assembly, at the joint meeting of the two Chambers, voted resolutions on the future development of industry and construction.

June 24 — The Federal Executive Council held a meeting under the chairmanship of Edvard Kardelj, when members examined the future development of transport, adopted the draft law on changes and additions to the General Law on the regulation of municipalities and districts, envisaging important innovations in the financing of scientific institutions and rectifying certain shortcomings in the existing regulations on the war-disabled.

June 25 — The First Congress of Workers Councils of Yugoslavia, attended by 1,745 delegates, began work in Belgrade. At the first plenary meeting the Congress was greeted by President Tito, who stressed that the system of workers self-management had demonstrated its vitality in action. President Tito's address and speeches from delegates and foreign guests, the Congress began work on the agenda.

DIPLOMATIC DIARY

June 15 — Edvard Kardelj, Vice-president of the Federal Executive Council, received Mr John Strachey, leader of the British Labour Party.

June 16 — Mr Erlander, the Swedish Premier, during his tour of Yugoslavia visited Brionne where he met the President of the Republic and Edvard Kardelj, Vice-president of the Federal Executive Council.

June 16 — A delegation of the Greek Army headed by Major-General Spanoyakis Rodamantos arrived in Belgrade for a ten-day visit to Yugoslav People's Army.

June 26 — Petar Stambolić, president of the Federal People's Assembly, received Mr Philon Philon, Greek Ambassador to Belgrade in a farewell call.

Our New Contributors

JOHN STRACHEY — A prominent British publicist, political worker, member of the Labour Party. He began his career as early as 1924 and has been returned to Parliament several times as Labour M. P. In 1945 and 1946 he was assistant Air Minister and later held the post of the Minister

of Supply, as well as Minister of War for two years. He has published many works on social, economic and political subjects, which have attracted considerable attention.

MARIJAN CVETKOVIĆ, Secretary for Industry in the Federal Executive Council, economist. Since the liberation he has been elected to various organs of the people's authority. Among other posts, he has held that of Assistant Minister, and was appointed Minister of Agriculture in 1947, and later Minister of Public Health in the Government of the People's Republic of Croatia. Since 1953 he has been member of the Executive Council of the Croatian People's Assembly. He is a member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia and of the Presidency of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Croatia.

MIHAJLO SVABIĆ, a member of the Executive Council of Serbia, people's deputy of the Assembly of Serbia. In addition to other functions, he was Minister of Construction of the People's Republic of Serbia and Secretary of the City Committee of the League of Communists for Belgrade. He is a member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and of the Presidency of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Serbia.

Dr MILOŠ RADOJKOVIĆ, professor of international public law at Belgrade University, Dean of the Faculty of Law, and Secretary General of the Yugoslav Association for International Law. Editor of the Yugoslav Review for International Law. Author and translator of number of important works on international law.

Dr BORIVOJE DAMJANOVIĆ, specialist in surgery and atomic medicine. Adviser to the Federal Commission for Nuclear Energy, rapporteur for medical anti-atomic protection of the Sanitation Administration of the Yugoslav People's Army and Secretary General of the Commission for the utilization of radio-active isotopes in medicine and for protection from radio-active radiation. Since 1951 head of the Radio-Biological Laboratory and Service for Protection from Radio-active Radiation in the Boris Kidrič Institute for Nuclear Sciences at Vinča. Publicist. He has published numerous works in Yugoslav and foreign scientific and professional periodicals and publications.

Dr PREDRAG ANASTASIJEVIĆ, electro-technical engineer, works on the problems relating to the construction of the nuclear reactor in the BORIS KIDRIČ Institute for Nuclear Sciences at Vinča. Publicist, permanent contributor to the Yugoslav periodical "Svet Tehnike".

SLOBODAN BRANKOVIĆ, member of the Institute for International Politics and Economy. Publicist. He was awarded the Second Prize at the international competition of the United Nations for a study entitled "Economic development and World Peace".

Review of INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

VOLUME VIII

NUMBER 174

CONTENTS:

PRESIDENT TITO'S SPEECH AT THE CONGRESS OF WORKERS' COUNCILS — — — — —	1
CONGRESS IN FIGURES — — — — —	1
DECLARATION OF THE FEDERAL PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY ON HATTING OF NUCLEAR TESTS — dr. Sergije Makić — — — — —	1
A FATAL MISUSE OF SCIENCE — dr. Siniša Stanković — — — — —	1
INTERNATIONAL LAW AND NUCLEAR TESTS — dr. Miloš Radojković — — — — —	1
FIRST STEPS-USEFUL AND NECESSARY — John Strachey — — — — —	1
DANGER FOR HUMAN SOCIETY — dr. Borivoje Damjanović — — — — —	1
THE DANGERS OF ATOM AND HYDROGEN BOMB TEST EXPLOSIONS — ing. Predrag Anastasijević — — — — —	1
COMPLICATIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST — — — — —	1
BOURGEOIS MAJOURNEY AND PROBLEMS OF FRANCE — — — — —	1
GOMULKA IN EASTERN GERMANY — THE PROBLEM OF UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES — Slobodan Branković — — — — —	1
PERSONALITIES AND POLITICS — — — — —	1
GERMANY ON EVE OF ELECTIONS — A. DENAUER OR OLENAUER? — Đuka Julius — — — — —	1
LONG TERM INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT — Marijan Cvetković — — — — —	1
THE FUTURE OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT — ing. Milun Ivanović — — — — —	1
BELGRADE FAIR OF ENGINEERING AND TECHNICAL ACHIEVEMENTS — — — — —	1
Mihajlo Svabić — — — — —	1
CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS — — — — —	2
DIPLOMATIC DIARY — — — — —	2
OUR NEW CONTRIBUTORS — — — — —	2

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